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THE
HISTORY
OF
MEXICO.

COLLECTED FROM
SPANISH AND MEXICAN HISTORIANS,
FROM
MANUSCRIPTS AND ANCIENT PAINTINGS OF THE INDIANS.

ILLUSTRATED BY
CHARTS, AND OTHER COPPER PLATES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
CRITICAL DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
LAND, THE ANIMALS, AND INHABITANTS OF MEXICO.

BY ABBÉ D. FRANCESCO SAVERIO CLAVIGERO.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN,
BY CHARLES CULLEN, Esq.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
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BOOK VIII.

The Arrival of the Spaniards upon the Coast of Anahuac. The Uneasiness, Embassies, and Presents of Montezuma. Confederacy of the Spaniards with the Nation of the Totonacas, their War and Alliance with the Tlascalans; their Severity to the Cholulans, and their solemn Entry into Mexico. Account of the celebrated Indian Donna Marina. Foundation of Vera Cruz, the first Colony of the Spaniards.

THE Spaniards, who ever since the year 1492, had discovered the New World, under the conduct of the celebrated Genoese Christopher Columbus; and, in the space of a few years, subjected to the crown of Castile the principal islands of the Antilles, made frequent cruises from thence to discover new countries, and barter European toys for American gold. In the year 1517, amongst other adventurers, Francisco Hernandez, of Cordova, weighed anchor from the port of Ajaruco, now called the Havanna, with one hundred and ten soldiers, and proceeding to the westward by the advice of Antonio Alaminas, one of the most famous and skilful pilots of that time, and then veering to the southward, discovered, in the beginning of March, the eastern cape of the peninsula of Yucatan, which they called *Capo Catoche*. They coasted

BOOK VIII.
SECT. I.
First voyage of the Spaniards to the coast of Anahuac.

BOOK VIII. along a part of that country, admiring the beautiful edifices and lofty towers which appeared upon the coast, and the (a) different coloured habits which the Indians wore; objects never before seen in the New World. The Yucatanese, on their part, marvelled at the size, the form, and decorations of their vessels. At two places where the Spaniards landed, they had some skirmishes with the Indians, in which, and by other distresses that attended them, they lost the half of their soldiers, and their captain himself received twelve wounds, which in a few days occasioned his death. Having returned precipitately to Cuba, with the accounts of their expedition, and some gold which they had robbed from a temple and brought with them for shew, they awoke the avaricious passions of Diego de Velasquez, formerly a conqueror, and then governor of that island; upon which he next year fitted out his relation Juan de Grijalva, with four vessels, and two hundred and forty soldiers. This commander, after having discovered the island of Cozumel, a few miles distant from the eastern shore of Yucatan, coasted along all that country, which lies from thence to the river Panueco, exchanging little glass balls, and such like trifling wares, for gold, which they anxiously sought, and the provisions they required.

(a) Dr. Robertson says, in book iii. that the Spaniards landed, and advancing into the country (of Yucatan), observed, with amazement, large houses built of stone. Thus he speaks where he recounts the voyage of Hernandez. But a few pages after, speaking of the voyage of Grijalva, he writes thus: *Many villages were scattered along the shore, among which, they (the Spaniards) could discern houses of stone, which at a distance appeared white and magnificent. In the heat of their imagination, they represented to themselves that these were so many cities adorned with towers and cupolas.* Among all the historians of Mexico, we have not found one who has said, that the Spaniards imagined there were cupolas in Yucatan. This idea belongs to Robertson, not to them. They thought they saw high towers and large houses, as, in fact, they were. The temples of Yucatan, like those of Anahuac, were built for the most part in the form of towers, and were very lofty. Bernal Diaz, an author of the utmost veracity, and an eye-witness of all that happened to the Spaniards in their first voyages to Yucatan, when he speaks of the disembarkment they made in their first voyage to the coast of Campeachy, says thus: *They, the Indians, conducted us to some houses, which were large and tolerably well built of stone and lime.* From which it appears they not only saw the buildings at a distance, but approached to them and entered them. The use of lime having been so common among those nations, it is not wonderful that the practice of whitening them also was common. See our seventh book. At any rate we cannot comprehend, how a house at a distance should seem white if it really was not so.

When they arrived at that little island, which they called *St. Juan de Ulua* (*b*), little more than a mile distant from the shore of Chalchiuhcuccan; the Mexican governors of those coasts, confounded at the sight of vessels so large, and men of so strange an aspect and figure, consulted together what they should do on the occasion, and determined to repair in person to the court to give intelligence to the king of so extraordinary an occurrence. But in order to convey to him a more perfect idea of the particulars, they caused the vessels, artillery, arms, dress, and appearance of the new people to be represented in some measure by their painters; after which, they set off without farther delay to the court, to relate what had arrived upon the coast, presenting to the king, along with the paintings, some little balls of glass, which they had got from the Spaniards. Montezuma was extremely disturbed on hearing their account; but, to avoid any rash step in an affair of such consequence and alarm, he held a council with Cacamatzin, king of Acolhuacan, his nephew, Cuitlahuatzin, lord of Iztapalapan, his brother, and other twelve personages, his ordinary counsellors. After a long conference they concluded unanimously, that he who had landed upon that shore, with so great an army, could be no other person than *Quetzalcoatl*, the god of air, who had for many years been expected in that country; for there prevailed among those nations, as we have already mentioned, an ancient tradition, that such a deity, after having, by his beneficence and innocence of life, acquired the esteem and veneration of the people in Tollan, Cholula, and Onohualco, had disappeared to them, promising to return after a certain period, to govern them in peace, and render them happy. The kings of those countries considered themselves the viceroys of that god, and trustees of the crown, which they were to cede to him whenever he made his appearance.

(*b*) They gave to this island the name of S. Juan; because they arrived there on the day of S. Precursor, and because this was the name of the commander. They called it Ulua also, because they found there two human victims recently sacrificed, and upon demanding, by means of signs, the reason of such barbarity, the Indians pointing towards the country of the west, answered *Acolhua*, *Acolhua*, meaning to be understood, that they did it by order of the Mexicans; as all the inhabitants of the Mexican vale were called Acolhuas by the people at a distance from the capital. On this little island there is at present a good fortress to defend the entry into the port of *Vera Cruz*.

BOOK VIII. This immemorial tradition, a variety of marks observed by them in the Spaniards conforming with those which their mythology ascribed to Quetzalcoatl, the surprising largeness of the vessels compared with their little skiffs and canoes, the loud noise and force of the artillery, resembling so strongly that of the clouds, all together awed and inspired them to believe it was the god of air who had arrived upon their coasts, with all the apparatus of thunder, lightning, and divinity. Moved by this persuasion, Montezuma ordered five persons of his court to repair immediately to Chalchiuhcucan, to make congratulations, in the name of him and the whole kingdom, to this supposed power of the air, on his happy arrival in that land, and to offer him in homage a large present; but, before he dispatched them, he previously sent orders to the governors of the coasts, to place centinels on the high mountains of Nauhltan, Quauhtla, Mictlan, and Tochtlan, that they might observe the motions of the armament, and send speedy advice of every thing which happened to the court. The Mexican ambassadors were unable, in spite of their utmost expedition, to overtake the Spaniards, who, when they had finished their commerce on that coast, continued their course along shore, as far as the river of Panama, from whence they returned to Cuba with ten thousand sequins in gold, part acquired in exchange for toys, part obtained in a present made to the commander by a lord of Onohualco.

SECT. 11.
 Characters
 of the principal
 conquerors of Mexico.

The governor of Cuba was much displeased that Grijalva did not plant a colony in that new country, which was represented by all to be the most rich and happy in the world. Upon this he immediately fitted out another larger armament, for the command of which several of the principal colonists of that island contended; but the governor, by the advice of his confidants, committed it to Ferdinand Cortes, a person of noble birth, and sufficiently rich to be able to support, with his own private capital, and the assistance of his friends, a considerable share of the expences of the expedition. He was born in Medellin, a small city of Estremadura, in the year 1485. By the father he was *Cortes* and *Monroi*, and by his mother *Pizarro* and *Altamirano*, uniting in himself the blood of those four lineages, which were the most renowned and ancient of that city. At the age of fourteen, he was sent by his parents to Salamanca, in order that by learning the Latin tongue, and the civil



Pedro de Alvarado.



Ferdinand Cortes.



Christoval de Olid.



Gonzalez de Sandoval

law, at that famous university, he might become the support of his family which was reduced to poverty; but it was not long before his military genius diverted him from study, and led him to the New World, after the example of many illustrious youths of his nation. He accompanied Diego Velasquez, in the conquest of the island of Cuba, where he gained much wealth and acquired considerable authority. He was a man of great talents, discernment, and courage, dextrous in the use of arms, fruitful in expedients and resources to carry his projects into execution, and highly ingenious in making himself be obeyed and respected even by his equals; great in his designs and actions, cautious in operations, modest in speech, steady in his enterprises, and patient in adversity. His zeal in religion was by no means inferior to his constant and inviolable fidelity to his sovereign; but the splendor of those and other good qualities, which placed him in the rank of heroes, was sullied and darkened by some actions unworthy of his greatness of soul. His immoderate love of the sex engaged him perpetually in criminal connections, and had formerly been attended with many difficulties and much danger. His too great ardour, or rather obstinacy, in enterprises, and the fear of frustrating his hopes of fortune, made him sometimes wanting in justice, gratitude, and humanity; but, perhaps, there never was a general and conqueror, brought up in the school of the world, in whom the virtues were not foiled by his vices. Cortes was of a good stature and well proportioned, robust and active. His chest was rather prominent, his beard black, and his eyes sparkling and amorous. Such is the portrait of the famous conqueror of Mexico, which the first historians who knew him have left us.

As soon as he found himself honoured with the post of general of the expedition, he used the utmost diligence in preparing for the voyage, and began to assume the style of a great lord, both in his carriage and in his attendants; fully sensible of the influence such a conduct has in dazzling the vulgar, and creating authority. He immediately erected the royal standard before his house, and published a proclamation through the island to enlist soldiers. Men, the most conspicuous of all that country, both in rank and office, were emulous to put themselves under his command, namely, Alonzo Hernandez de Portocarrero, cousin of the count de Medellin, Juan Velasquez de Leon, a near relation to

BOOK VIII. the governor, Diego Ordaz, Francisco de Montejo, Francisco de Lugo, and others, whom we shall name in the course of our history. Amongst all these, Pedro de Alvarado de Badajos, Christoval de Olid de Baeza, in Andalusia, and Gonzales de Sandoval de Medellin, merit particular mention, as they were the first commanders of the troops employed in that conquest, and those who made the most distinguished figure: all three warriors, extremely courageous, enured to the fatigues of war, and skilled in the military art, though otherwise different in character. *Alvarado* was a young man of handsome shape, and extreme agility, fair, graceful, lively, popular, addicted to luxuries and pleasures, greedy of gold, of which he stood in need to support his love of grandeur, and, as some authors affirm, unscrupulous how he obtained it, inhumane and violent in his conduct in some expeditions. *Olid* was stout limbed, dark, and double. Both of them were very serviceable to Cortes in the conquest; but they proved ungrateful to him afterwards, and met with a tragical end. *Alvarado* died in New Galicia, killed by a horse which tumbled from a precipice. *Olid* was beheaded by his enemies in the square or market-place of Naco, in the province of Honduras. *Sandoval*, a youth of a good family, was scarcely twenty-two when he enlisted in the expedition of his countryman Cortes. He was well-shaped, manly in stature, and of a robust complexion, his hair was of a chesnut colour and curly, his voice strong and thick; a person of few words but excellent deeds. Cortes sent him on the most difficult and dangerous expeditions, in all of which he came off with success and with honour. In the war against the Mexicans, he headed a part of the Spanish army, and at the siege of the capital, he had more than thirty thousand men under his command, continually enjoying from his good conduct the favour of the general, the respect of the soldiers, and even the love of his enemies. He founded the colony of Medellin, on the coast of Chalchiuhcucan, and that of Spirito Santo, on the river Coatzacoalco. He was commander of the garrison of Vera Cruz, and some time governor of Mexico; and in all his employments his equity was conspicuous. He was constant and assiduous in labour, obedient and faithful to his general, kind to the soldiers, humane (c) to his enemies, and

(c) Dr. Robinson accuses Sandoval of that horrid example of severity made of the *Panathese*, where the Spaniards burned sixty lords and four hundred nobles, under the eyes

entirely free from the prevailing contagion of avarice. In short, in all the series of conquerors, we do not find a more accomplished or praiseworthy character, as there was no one among them who knew so well how to unite prudence and discretion with the ardour of youth, bravery and intrepidity with humanity, modesty with merit, and humility with success. He died in the flower of his age at a place of Andalusia, on his way to the court of Spain with Cortes. BOOK VIII.

As soon as all the preparations for the voyage were made, the governor of Cuba, from the suggestions and insinuations of the rivals of Cortes, recalled his commission, and ordered him to be imprisoned; but those who were charged with his apprehension had not courage to attempt it, from seeing so many respectable and brave men united to support the part of their new general; so that Cortes who had not only spent all his own capital in preparations, but also contracted large debts, retained his post in spite of his enemies; and having all things in order and readiness, weighed anchor from the port of Ajaruco upon the 10th of February, 1519. The armament consisted of eleven vessels, five hundred and eight soldiers, divided into eleven companies, one hundred and nine seamen, sixteen horses, ten pieces of cannon, and four falconets. They steered under the direction of the pilot Alaminos, to the island of

SECT. III
Armament
and voyage
of Cortes.

of their children and kindred, and cites the testimony of Cortez and Gomara; but Cortes neither affirms that Sandoval executed that punishment, nor even names it. Bernal Diaz, whose authority in this point is more to be depended on than Gomara, says, that Sandoval, after he had conquered the Panuchese, and taken twenty lords, and some other persons of note prisoners, wrote to Cortes to know his determination with respect to them; and Cortes, in order to make their condemnation more justifiable, submitted the process to Diego de Ocampo, judge of that province, who, after having heard their confession, sentenced them to be burned, which judgment was executed. Bernal Diaz does not express the number of those who were condemned; Cortes says, that including lords and other principal persons, four hundred were burned. Such a sentence was no doubt cruel and severe; but Robertson, who casts many reproaches on the Spaniards, ought to have evinced his impartiality by declaring the motives which they had to act so violently against the *Panuchese*. The latter having subjected themselves to the crown of Spain, renounced their obedience, and, running to arms, disturbed that whole province; they killed four hundred Spaniards, forty of whom they burned alive and eat the others. Such atrocious doings are not sufficient to excuse the Spaniards, but they certainly extenuate the severity of their conduct. Robertson read equally in Gomara of the rebellious deeds of the *Panuchese*, and the rigour of the Spaniards, but he conceals the former, and exaggerates the latter.

BOOK VIII. Cozumel, where they recovered Jerom de Aguilar, a Spanish dean, who, in going from Darien to the island of Hispaniola a few years before, had been shipwrecked on the coast of Yucatan, and was made a slave to the Indians. Hearing of the arrival of the Spaniards at Cozumel, he obtained liberty from his master, and joined the fleet. From long commerce with the Yucatanese, he had learned the Maja language which is spoken there, on which account he obtained the office of interpreter to Cortes.

SECT. IV.
Victory of the
Spaniards in
Tabasco.

From Cozumel they proceeded along the coast of the peninsula of Yucatan to the river Chiapa, in the province of Tabasco, by which they advanced into the country, in barges and the smallest vessels, until they reached a grove of palm-trees, where they landed under pretence of wanting water and provisions, directed their course to a large village, which was not quite two miles distance, combating all the way with a croud of Indians, who annoyed their progress with arrows, darts, and other offensive weapons, and forcing through the palisadoes which they had placed for their defence. The Spaniards having made themselves masters of the village, made frequent excursions among the neighbouring places, in which they had many dangerous skirmishes, until at last there happened a decisive engagement on the 25th day of March. The battle was fought on the plains of Centla, a village but a little distance from the other. The army of the enemy was much superior in number; but in spite of their multitude they were entirely defeated, on account of the superior discipline of the Spaniards, the advantage of their arms, and the terror struck into the Indians by the size and fire of their horses. Eight hundred of the enemy remained dead upon the field. Of the Spaniards, one was killed, and more than sixty wounded. This victory was the beginning of the success of the Spaniards, in memory of which they founded a small city there, which they named *Madonna della Victoria* (*d*), and was afterwards for a long time the capital of that province. They endeavoured to justify their hostilities by the repeated protestations which they made to the natives before they came to any engagement,

(*d*) The city of Victoria was depopulated entirely about the middle of the last century, on account of the frequent invasions of the English. Another small city was afterwards founded at a greater distance from the court, which they called *Villahermosa*; but the capital of this province, where the governor resides, is *Tlacotalpan*.

that they were not come into their country to do them any injury as enemies, but solely as navigators necessitated to procure, by the exchange of their merchandizes, the provisions which they required to continue their voyage; to which protests, the Indians answered with a shower of arrows and darts. Cortes took solemn possession of that country in the name of his sovereign, with a strange ceremony, though agreeable to the cavalier customs and ideas of that century. He put on his shield, unsheathed his sword, and gave three stabs with it to a large tree which was in the principal village, declaring, that if any person durst oppose his possession, he would defend it with that sword.

To confirm more formally the dominion of his king, he assembled the lords of that province, and persuaded them to render him obedience, and to acknowledge him as their lawful sovereign; and to impress them with an elevated idea of the power of his king, he made before them a discharge of the artillery, and by artifices imposed upon them the belief, that the neighing of the horses was a mark of their indignation at the enemies of the Spaniards. They all appeared to acquiesce in the proposals of the conqueror, and listened with wonder and pleasure to hear the first truths of the Christian religion, which Bartolomeo de Olmedo, a learned divine, and chaplain to the expedition, declared to them by the interpreter Aguilar. They presented afterwards to Cortes, in token of their submission, some little articles of gold, several garments of coarse linen, as they made use of no others in that province, and twenty female slaves, which were divided among the officers of his troops.

Among these was a young girl of noble birth, beauty, quick genius, and great spirit, a native of Painalla, a village of the Mexican province of Coatzacualco (e). Her father had been a feudatory of the crown of Mexico, and lord of several places. Her mother having been left a wi-

SECT. V.
Account of
the famous
Indian Dona
Marina.

(e) In a manuscript history, which was in the library of the college of St. Peter and St. Paul of the Jesuits of Mexico, it is said, that D. Marina was born in Huilotla, a village of Coatzacualco. Gomara, who is copied by Herrera and Torquemada, says, she was a native of Xalixco, and taken from thence by some merchants of Xicallanco, and carried to their country: but this is most probably false; as Xalixco is more than nine hundred miles distant from Xicallanco, and it is not known that there was any commerce between these two provinces so remote from each other. Bernal Diaz, who lived a long time in Coatzacualco, and knew the mother and brother of Marina, confirms the truth of

BOOK VIII.

dow, married another noble, by whom she had a son. The love which they bore to this fruit of their marriage, induced them to pretend the death of their first-born child, that the inheritance might fall wholly to the last. To make it appear credible, they delivered her up privately to some merchants of Xicallanco, a city situated upon the borders of Tabasco, at a time when the daughter of one of their slaves had died, for whose death they made as much mourning as if it had been the death of their own. These merchants gave her away, or sold her to their neighbours of Tabasco, who, lastly, presented her to Cortes, unsuspecting that that singular slave should contribute by her speech to the conquest of all that land. Besides the native language of her own country, she understood the Maja language which was spoke in Yucatan and in Tabasco, and in a little time she learnt the Spanish. Instructed readily in the tenets of the Christian religion, she was solemnly baptised with other slaves by the name of Marina (*f*). She was always faithful to the Spaniards, and her services to them can never be over-rated; as she was not only the instrument of their negotiations with the Mexicans, the Tlascalans, and the other nations of Anahuac, but frequently saved their lives, by warning them of dangers, and pointing out the means of escaping them. She accompanied Cortes in all his expeditions, serving sometimes as an interpreter, sometimes as a counsellor, and sometimes to her misfortune as a mistress. The son which she had by that conqueror, who was called Don Martin Cortes, knight of the military order of St. Jago, on account of some ill-grounded suspicions of rebellion, was put to the torture in Mexico, in the year 1568; his iniquitous and barbarous judges paying no regard to the memory of the unequalled services rendered by the parents of that illustrious sufferer to the Catholic king and all the Spanish nation (*g*). After the conquest she was married to

our account, and avers to have heard it from Marina herself. A tradition also, which is still preserved in Coatzacoalco, conforms to what we have said.

(*f*) The Mexicans adapt the name Marina to their language, and say *Malintzin*, whence came the name *Malinchi*, by which she is known among the Spaniards of Mexico.

(*g*) Those who gave the torture to Don Martin Cortes, and put the marquis of the Vale, his brother, in prison, were two formidable judges sent to Mexico by Philip II. The chief of those judges called *Mugnoz*, made such barbarous decisions, that the king being moved by the complaints of the Mexicans against him, recalled him to the court, and gave him so severe and so harsh a reprimand, that he grew melancholy and died.

a respectable Spaniard, named Juan de Xaramillo. During the long and hazardous voyage which she made in company with Cortes to the province of Honduras, in 1524, she had occasion in passing through her native country to see her mother and her brother, who presented themselves before her, bathed in tears and covered with confusion, as they dreaded that from her being in power and prosperity, under the protection of the Spaniards, she would revenge the wrongs which had been done to her in her infancy; but she received and caressed them with great affection, from the naturally generous disposition of her temper, which equalled the other excellent talents she possessed. We have thought proper not to omit those incidents of a woman who was the first Christian of the Mexican empire, who makes so distinguished a figure in the history of the conquest, and whose name has been and is still so celebrated, not less among the Mexicans than the Spaniards.

Cortes having made himself secure of the tranquillity of Tabasco, and perceiving that it was not the country to yield gold, resolved to prosecute his voyage and seek for a region more rich than it; but as the festival of the palms drew near, he was desirous of giving the natives of Tabasco some idea of the solemnity of the Christian religion. That day mass was celebrated with all the possible forms of sacred duty; the branches were blessed, and a solemn procession, with martial music, at all which the Indians were present, and listened with astonishment and awe.

This function being performed, and leave taken of the lords of Tabasco, the armament put to sea, and steering to the westward, after coasting along the province of Coatzacoalco, and crossing the mouth of the river Papaloapan, it entered the port of St. Juan de Ulua, on Holy Thursday, the 21st of April. They had hardly cast anchor, when they saw from the shore of Chalchiuhcucan two large canoes rowing towards their admiral, in which were many Mexicans sent by the governor of that coast, to know who they were who had arrived in that new armament, and what they wanted, and to offer them all the assistance which they required for the prosecution of their voyage: a piece of attention which shewed the vigilance and hospitality of that nation. Having come on board of the commander's ship, and presented themselves to Cortes in

BOOK VIII. forms of civility, they explained their commission by means of Donna Marina and Aguilar, as from her not understanding the Spanish, nor he the Mexican, it was necessary at these first conferences with the Mexicans, to employ three languages and two interpreters. Donna Marina explained to Aguilar in the Maja tongue what the Mexicans said to her in their language, and Aguilar repeated it in Spanish to Cortes. This general courteously received the Mexicans, and knowing how acceptable the European toys had been to them the year before, answered, that he had come into that country for no other purpose than to traffick with them, and to treat with their king about some affairs of the utmost importance, and in order to conciliate their favour, he made them taste some Spanish wine, and presented them with some small trifles which he judged would be worthy their acknowledgment (*h*).

On the first day of Easter, after the Spaniards had landed, and disembarked their cavalry and artillery, and had, with the assistance of the Mexicans, made barracks of the branches of trees upon that sandy shore, where at present stands the city of new Vera Cruz, two Mexicans governors of that coast, named Teuhtlile and Cuitlalpitoc (*i*), arrived there with a great retinue of attendants. Ceremonies of civility and respect

(*h*) Torquemada says, that Montezuma having been apprized of the new armament which his centinels, who were placed on the mountains, had observed, immediately dispatched his ambassadors to pay worship to the imagined god Quetzalcoatl; they proceeding with the utmost expedition to the port of Chalchiuhtecan, went instantly on board of the admiral, on the very day of the arrival of the Spaniards; that Cortes, attending to their error, and willing to profit by it, received them sitting upon a high throne that had hastily been formed, where he suffered himself to be adored, to be clothed in the sacerdotal habit of Quetzalcoatl, a necklace of gems to be put about his neck, and a helmet or vizor of gold, set with gems, to be put on his head, &c. but this is unquestionably false. The fleet departed from the river of Tabasco on Holy Monday, and arrived on Thursday at the port of Ulua. The mountains of Tochtlan and Miclan, from whence the fleet could most quickly be discovered, are not less than three hundred miles distant from the capital, nor are they less than two hundred from the port of Ulua: so that had it even been possible to have descried the fleet the very day on which it left Tabasco, it was impossible for the ambassadors to have arrived there on Thursday. Besides, there is no memory of such an event in any author, it rather appears from the account of Bernal Diaz to be totally false, and that the Mexicans were now sensible of their error into which they had been led by the first fleet which had appeared there.

(*i*) Bernal Diaz writes *Tendili* instead of Teuhtlile, and *Pitalpitoqui* in place of Cuitlalpitoc. Herrera calls it *Pitalpitoc*, and Solis, and Robertson, who thought to amend it, *Pilpatoc*.

being exchanged on both sides, before any conference took place, BOOK VIII.
Cortes, not less for the sake of prospering his future designs, than of giving that idolatrous nation some idea of the Christian religion, ordered that mass should be celebrated in their presence. On this occasion, therefore, it was sung with all possible solemnity for the first time in the dominions of Mexico.

He invited them afterwards to dine with him and his officers, in order to obtain their good will towards him by courtesies. As soon as they rose from table, he led them aside to communicate his pretensions to them. He told them that he was a subject of Don Carlos of Austria, the greatest king of the East, whose bounty, grandeur, and power, he extolled with most magnificent praises; and added, that this great monarch knowing of that land, and of the lord who reigned there, sent him to make a visit in his name, and to communicate to him in person some affairs of great importance; and that therefore he would be glad to know when it would please their lord to hear his embassy. "You are scarcely arrived in this land," answered Teuhtlile, "and yet you desire immediately to see our king. I have listened with pleasure to what you have told me concerning the grandeur and bounty of your sovereign, but know, that our king is not less bountiful and great; I rather wonder that there should exist another in the world more powerful than he; but as you assert it, I will make it known to my sovereign, from whose goodness I trust, that he will not only have pleasure in receiving intelligence of that great prince, but will likewise do honour to his ambassador. Accept in the mean time this present which I offer you in his name." Upon which taking out from a *petlacalli*, or little basket of woven reeds, several admirable pieces of workmanship of gold, he presented them to Cortes, with various works of feathers, ten loads of garments of fine cotton, and a considerable quantity of provisions (*k*).

(*k*) Solis and Robertson make Teuhtlile general of the armies, and deprive him of the civil government of that coast, whereas we know the contrary from Bernal Diaz, Gomara, and other ancient historians. Those authors say besides, that in the beginning Teuhtlile opposed Cortes in his design of going to the court, but it appears from the testimony of ancient and better historians, he did not oppose him until he had a positive order from his king to that purpose.

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Cortes accepted the present with singular demonstrations of gratitude, and returned for them things of small value, though equally prized by them, either because they were entirely new in that country, or from the brilliancy of their appearance. Teuhtlile had brought many painters with him, in order that by dividing the objects among them of which the armament consisted, they might in a short time copy them all; and that their king might have the pleasure of beholding, with his own eyes, all the wonders which they had to relate to him. Cortes perceiving their intention, in order to furnish their painters with a subject capable of making a grander impression on the mind of their king, commanded his cavalry to muster on the beach, and go through some military evolutions, and the artillery to be discharged in a volley. Both orders were observed, and the exhibition attended to with all the stupor and amazement imaginable by the two governors, their numerous retinue, and croud of followers, which, as Gomara affirms, consisted of more than four thousand Indians. Teuhtlile took notice of a gilded visor, or mask, which, from its resemblance to that belonging to one of the principal idols of Mexico, he demanded from Cortes that they might shew it to their king; and Cortes granted it, on condition of having it returned to him full of gold dust, under a pretence that he desired to see whether the gold, which was dug from the mines of Mexico, was the same as that of his native country (*l*).

As soon as the paintings were finished, Teuhtlile took a friendly leave of Cortes, proposing to return in a few days with the answer of his sovereign, and deputing Cuitlalpitoc in his place, that he might provide the Spaniards with every thing necessary, he departed for Cuitlactlan, the place of his usual residence; from whence he carried in person the intelligence, the paintings, and present from the Spanish general, as Bernal Diaz and Torquemada affirm, or he sent them all as Solis conjectures by the posts, or couriers, who were stationed on the highways, always ready to run with dispatches.

(*l*) Some historians say, that Cortes, in demanding the visor to be filled with gold, pretended that he and his companions suffered a certain disease of the heart, which they said, could not be cured by any other remedy than this precious metal, but that imports little as to the substance of the fact.

It is easy to imagine the uneasiness and perplexity into which Montezuma was thrown by the news of that armament, and the distinct information he had of the character of those strangers, the fire of their horses, and the destructive violence of their arms. As he was eminently superstitious, he made his gods be consulted with respect to their pretensions, and he received for answer as is reported, that he ought never to admit that new people into his court. Whether this oracle, as some authors are persuaded, came from the devil, who delivered it, in order to keep every path shut to the gospel, or as we apprehend from the priests, for the common benefit of themselves and the nation, Montezuma resolved from that time to refuse admission to the Spaniards; but that he might appear to act with propriety, and to follow the dictates of his own genius, he sent an embassy to them with a present entirely worthy of his royal magnificence. The ambassador was a great personage of the court, not a little similar in stature and shape to the Spanish general, as an eye-witness has reported (*m*). Seven days were hardly elapsed after the departure of Teuhtlile, before he returned, accompanying the ambassador, conducting also more than an hundred men of burden, who carried the present (*n*). As soon as the ambassador was come into the presence of Cortes, he touched the earth with his hand, and then lifted it to his mouth, according to the custom of those nations, offered (*o*) incense to the general and other officers who were beside him, saluted them respectfully, and sitting down

BOOK VIII.

 Uneasiness
of Montezuma.

 First embassy
and present sent by
him to
Cortes.

(*m*) Bernal Diaz.

(*n*) Bernal Diaz calls this ambassador *Quintalbor*, but such a name neither is nor can be Mexican. Robertson says, that the same officers who had hitherto treated with Cortes, were charged to bear the royal answer to him, and makes no mention of the ambassador; but both Bernal Diaz, an eye-witness, and other Spanish and Indian historians affirm what we have said. Solis, in consideration of the short interval of seven days, and the distance of seventy leagues between that port and the capital, could not be persuaded that an ambassador came at that time; but having said a little before, that the Mexican posts were more diligent than the European posts, it is not wonderful that in one day; or a little more, they should have carried intelligence of the fleet to the court, and the ambassador should have come in four or five days after in a litter, borne on the shoulders of the same posts, as was the custom among those people. As the fact is not improbable, we ought rather to believe Bernal Diaz, who was an eye-witness.

(*o*) The offering of incense to the Spaniards, although it was merely a piece of civil courtesy, and the name *Teteuctin* (lords or gentlemen), by which they are addressed, being

BOOK VIII. upon a seat which Cortes placed for him, pronounced his harangue, which was a congratulation to that general in the name of his king, upon his happy arrival in that country, an intimation of the pleasure he had received in knowing that men so gallant and brave had landed in his kingdom, and in hearing the news which they had brought from so great a monarch, and to express how acceptable his gift had been : upon which, in token of his royal pleasure he had sent him that present. Having said this, he made some fine mats and cotton cloths be spread upon the ground, upon which were placed in order and form the whole substance of the present. It consisted of various works of gold and silver, still more valuable on account of the wonderful workmanship than of those precious metals, among which some were gems admirably set, and others figures of lions, tygers, apes, and other animals ; of thirty loads or bales of the very finest cotton, of various colours, and in part interwoven with the most beautiful feathers ; of several excellent works of feathers, embellished with many little figures of gold, and a visor full of gold in dust, as Cortes desired, valued at fifteen hundred sequins ; but the most valuable things of the whole were two wheels, the one of gold, the other of silver ; that of gold, representing, as we have said already, the Mexican century, had the image of the sun engraved in the middle, round which were different figures in bass relief. The circumference of it was thirty palms of Toledo, and the value of it ten thousand sequins (*p*). The one of silver, in which the Mexican year was represented, was still larger, with a moon in the middle, surrounded also with figures in bass relief. The Spaniards were not less amazed than pleased with the view of such riches. “ This present,” added the ambassador, addressing himself to Cortes, “ my sovereign sends for you and your companions ; “ as for your king, he will in a short time send some jewels of inestimable value. In the mean while, you may remain upon this shore “ as long as it may be agreeable, to repose after the fatigues of so long “ a voyage, and to provide yourselves with necessaries to return to “ your native country. If you desire any other thing of this country

somewhat similar to that of *Teteo* (gods), made them believe that they were imagined to be gods by the Mexicans.

(*p*) There is a great difference among authors respecting the value of the plate ; but we give more faith to Bernal Diaz who knew it well, than to one who was to have his share in the present from Montezuma.

“ for your sovereign, it shall be given you immediately ; but with respect to your demand of visiting our court, I am charged to dissuade you from so difficult and hazardous a journey, as the way to it lies through uninhabited desarts, and the countries of enemies.” Cortes received the present with the most particular expressions of gratitude for the royal beneficence, and made the best returns to it in his power ; but without abandoning his request, he begged of the ambassador to represent to the king the dangers and distresses which they had suffered in their navigation, and the displeasure which his sovereign would feel when he found his hopes frustrated ; that besides, neither dangers nor fatigues were sufficient to divert the Spaniards from their undertakings. The ambassador agreed to make this report to the king, and politely took leave of Cortes along with Teuhtlile ; Cuitlalpitoc being left behind with a vast number of people, in a hamlet which they had formed of small huts, at a little distance from the camp of the Spaniards.

Cortes, in the midst of all that prosperity which he had hitherto met with, perceived that he could not long remain at that station ; for besides the inconvenience of heat and insects, which swarm upon that shore, he was apprehensive of some damage to his ships from the north wind, to which that harbour is exposed ; on which account he dispatched two vessels, under the command of Montejo, to coast along the shore, towards Panuco, and find another more secure port. They returned in a few days with the intelligence of having found, thirty-six miles from Ulua, a sufficient harbour, near to a city placed in a strong situation.

In the mean time, Teuhtlile returned to the camp of the Spaniards, and after taking Cortes aside with the interpreters, he told him, that his lord Montezuma gratefully accepted the new present which he had sent him ; and that that which he had sent on his part now was destined for the great king of Spain ; that he wished him all sort of happiness, but that he desired no more messages to be sent to him, nor to hear any farther propositions of a visit to his court. The present for the Catholic king consisted of various works of gold, which were estimated to be worth fifteen hundred sequins, ten bales of most curious robes of feathers, and of four gems, so highly valued by the Mexicans,

SECT. VIII.
Montezuma's present
to the Catholic king.

BOOK VIII. that, according to what Teuhtlile himself affirmed, each was worth a load of gold. That undiscerning king flattered himself that he should induce the Spaniards by his liberality to abandon that country, and did not reflect that the love of gold is a passion which grows by what it feeds on. Cortes was mortified with the refusal of the king; but he did not give up his intention, the native constancy of his temper being strengthened by the alluring prospect of riches.

Teuhtlile, before he departed, observed, that the Spaniards on hearing the stroke of the bell for Ave Mary, kneeled down before a holy cross, and in wonder at it, asked why they adored that piece of wood. Upon this Olmeda took occasion to explain to him the first articles of the Christian religion, and represented to him the abomination of worshipping idols, and the inhumanity of their sacrifices. But his discourse was not comprehended, and the attempt proved fruitless.

The following day the Spaniards found themselves so deserted by the Mexicans, that there was not one to be seen on all the coast; this was unquestionably the effect of the order given by their king to recall all the people with the provisions destined for those strangers, if they persisted in their daring resolution. A novelty of this kind caused a sudden consternation among the Spaniards, as they dreaded every moment the whole power of that vast empire might pour down upon their miserable camp. Upon which, Cortes made their provisions be secured in the ships, and ordered his troops to be armed for their defence. It is certain that Montezuma, upon this as well as on many other occasions, might easily have totally destroyed those few strangers who were to bring so many misfortunes upon him; but Providence preserved them to become the instruments of his views in that new world. We do not mean to justify the design and conduct of the conquerors, but neither can we avoid tracing in the series of the conquest the destiny which prepared the ruin of that empire.

SECT. IX.
Embassy of
the lord of
Chempoalla,
and its con-
sequences.

On the same day, during this state of suspence of the Spaniards, two soldiers who kept guard without the camp, saw five men coming towards them, different in some degree from the Mexicans in their dress and in their ornaments, who upon being conducted to the Spanish general, said in Mexican, as their own language was not understood, that they were of the nation of the Totanacas, and sent by the lord of Chem-

poalla, a city twenty-four miles distant from that place, to pay his respects to them, to know who they were and whence they came, and to request them to repair to that city, where they would be kindly received; adding, that they had not approached the camp sooner for fear of the Mexicans. The lord of Chempoalla was one of those feudatories, who lived impatient under the Mexican yoke. Having heard of the victory obtained by the Spaniards in Tabasco, and their arrival at that port, he thought the occasion the most favourable to throw off the Mexican yoke, with the assistance of such brave people. Cortes, who wished for nothing more earnestly than such an alliance, after informing himself sufficiently of the state and condition of the Totonacas, and the wrongs they suffered from the great power of the Mexicans, answered, with thanks to the Chempoallese chief for his courtesy, and a promise to visit him without delay.

He immediately published his departure for Chempoalla; but before that, it was necessary to overcome some obstacles to it, which his own soldiers threw in the way. Some adherents to the governor of Cuba, tired out with the hardships which they suffered, intimidated by the dangers which now presented themselves, and become desirous of repose, and longing for the conveniences and comforts of their homes, most earnestly conjured the general to return to Cuba, exaggerating the scarcity of their provisions, and the rashness of so great an undertaking, as to oppose, with so small a number of soldiers, the vast power of the king of Mexico; especially, after they had lost on those sands thirty-five men, part of those by the wounds received in the battle of Tabasco, part from the unwholesomeness of the air of that shore. Cortes, by means of presents and promises, and also by means of a little severity opportunely exerted, and other arts suggested to him by his fertility of genius, so well managed his corps, that he not only pacified the discontented, and induced them to remain willingly in that country; but, proceeding farther in his negotiations, brought it about that the army, in the name of the king, and without any dependance on the governor of Cuba, should confirm him in the supreme civil and military command; and that on account of the expences already, and hereafter to be laid out by him upon the armament, a fifth part of the gold which might be acquired should be assigned to him;

BOOK VIII. after the share belonging to their king was deducted. He also created magistrates, and appointed all other officers proper for a colony, which he intended to plant on that coast.

Having surmounted these difficulties, and taken suitable measures for the execution of his great designs, he began his march with the troops. His intention was not only to recruit the strength of his fatigued people, who had suffered from that unhealthy shore, and to seek new alliances, but likewise to chuse a good situation for the foundation of the colony, as Chempoalla was upon the way to Chiahuitzla (*q*), the new harbour discovered by Montejo. The little army marched with a part of the artillery towards Chempoalla in cautious order, well prepared to defend itself, if they should chance to be attacked either by the Totonacas, of whose sincerity they were not perfectly secure, or by the Mexicans whom they supposed they had offended by their resolution; a caution which no good general ever thought superfluous, and which was never neglected by Cortes in times of the greatest prosperity, always of use to maintain military discipline, and in general necessary for security. The ships proceeded along shore to the port of Chiahuitzla.

When they arrived within three miles of Chempoalla, twenty respectable Chempoaltese inhabitants came out to meet the army, and presented to Cortes a refreshment of ananas, and other fruits, in the name of their lord, and made his excuse that he had not come in person to meet him, as he was prevented from doing so. They entered the city, in the order of battle, being suspicious of some treachery from the inhabitants. A light horseman having advanced as far as the greater square of the city, and seeing a bastion of the palace of that lord, which, on account of its having been fresh whitened and well polished, made a bright reflexion of the sun, he imagined it was silver, and returned full speed to acquaint the general of it. This incident is sufficient to shew, how much the mind may be deceived and deluded by the predominance of any particular passion. The Spaniards proceeded through the streets, not less delighted than amazed at seeing

(*q*) Solis and Robertson give to Chiahuitzla the name of *Quiabislan*, which neither is nor can be Mexican.

such a city, the largest which they had seen in the New World, so full of inhabitants and beautiful gardens. Some, on account of its largeness, called it *Seville*, and others *Villaviciosa*, on account of its pleasantness (r). BOOK VIII.

When they arrived at the greater temple, the lord of that state came to receive them at the entrance ; though inactive on account of his immoderate fatness, he was a person of discernment and some genius. After having saluted according to the custom of that country, and offered incense to the general, he took leave, promising to return as soon as they had reposed after the fatigues of their journey. The whole Spanish troop were lodged in large handsome buildings, within the enclosure of the temple, which were either built on purpose for the accommodation of strangers, or destined for the habitation of the ministers of the idols. Here they were well entertained, and provided with every thing they wanted at the expence of that lord, who returned to them after dinner, in a portable chair or litter, accompanied by a number of nobility. In the secret conference which he had with him, Cortes, by means of his interpreters, boasted the grandeur and power of his sovereign, by whom he was sent into that country, and charged with several commissions of the utmost importance, and amongst others, an injunction to succour and relieve oppressed innocence. " If therefore," he added, " I can serve you in any thing with my person and my troops, name it to me, I will do it chearfully." On hearing these proposals, the Chempoallese chief fetched a deep sigh, which was followed by a bitter complaint of the misfortunes of his nation. He told him, that the state of the Totonacas had, from time immemorial, been free, and governed by lords of their own nation ; but within a few years since, had been oppressed with the rigorous yoke of the Mexicans, who, on the contrary, from a humble commencement, had raised themselves to such a pitch of grandeur, by a

(r) We cannot doubt of the greatness of Chempoalla, considering the testimony of authors who saw it, and the extent of its ruins. It is impossible to conclude any thing about it, from the account given by Torquemada, as in one place he makes the inhabitants amount to twenty or thirty thousand, in another place to fifty thousand one hundred and eleven, and in the Index to Vol. I. to an hundred and fifty thousand. To Chempoalla the same thing occurred which happened to all the other cities of the New World, that is, that with diseases, and the vexations of the sixteenth century, it gradually dwindled until at last it was entirely depopulated.

BOOK VIII. firm and steady alliance with the kings of Acolhuacan and Tlacopan ; that they had rendered themselves masters of all that land ; that their power was excessive, and their tyranny in proportion ; that the king of Mexico engrossed to himself the gold of his subjects ; and that the receivers of the tributes, besides other cruelties and oppression, demanded of the tributaries their sons for sacrifices, and their daughters for violation. Cortes appeared moved with compassion for his misfortunes, and offered to give him his assistance in every thing ; deferring until another occasion to treat of the manner of doing it ; as he was then pressed to go to Chiahuitzla to examine into the state of his vessels. At this visit the Chempoallesc chief made him a present of some works of gold, which it is said were worth a thousand sequins.

The next day four hundred men of burden presented themselves to Cortes, being sent to him by that lord to transport his baggage ; and it was then he learned from Donna Marina the custom which prevailed among those nations, to furnish of their own accord, without any motive of interest, such people of burden to every respectable person who passed through their city.

SECT. X.
Imprisonment of five royal ministers in Chiahuitzla.

From Chempoalla, the Spaniards advanced to Chiahuitzla, a small city, situated upon a steep and rocky mountain, a little more than twelve miles from Chempoalla towards the north, and three from the new port. Here Cortes had another conference with the lord of that city, and the lord of Chempoalla, who, for this purpose, made himself be transported hither. At the same time that they were deliberating upon the means of releasing themselves from the Mexican yoke, there arrived at that city, with a great retinue, five noble Mexicans, the receivers of the royal tributes, who expressed the utmost indignation against the Totonacas, for having dared to receive these strangers without the royal consent, and demanded twenty human victims to sacrifice to their gods in expiation of their crime. The whole city was disturbed, and particularly the two lords, who considered themselves the most guilty. Cortes having learned from Donna Marina the cause of their disquiet, found an extraordinary expedient to relieve them from their embarrassment. He suggested to the two lords the bold design of apprehending the royal receivers and putting them in prison ; and though at first they refused to do so, from its appearing too rash and

dangerous an attempt, they at last yielded to his entreaties. They accordingly imprisoned those five nobles, who had entered their city with so much pride and with so much disdain for the Spaniards, that they had not even deigned to look at them as they passed by them.

The Totonacas had hardly taken this step, when, encouraged by it, they almost would have proceeded to sacrifice them that very night, had they not been dissuaded from it by Cortes, who having conciliated by that measure the love and respect of the Totonacas, intended to gain the good-will of the Mexicans by liberating the prisoners. His artful double conduct lays open his disposition; but it cannot be commended, except by those courtiers who know no other system than the art of deceit, and who, regardless of honour, pursue interest alone in their actions. Cortes gave orders therefore to his guards, to take at night two of the Mexicans out of the prison, and bring them secretly before him, so as they might not be observed by any of the inhabitants of the city. The order was obeyed, and the Mexicans found themselves so much obliged to the Spanish general, that they made him a thousand acknowledgments, and advised him not to trust to the barbarous and perfidious Totonacas. Cortes charged them to explain to their sovereign his great displeasure at the attempt of those mountaineers against his ministers; but as he had put them two at liberty, he would also set the others free. They departed immediately for the court, escorted by some Spaniards, in a vessel from thence to the borders of the province; and Cortes, the day after, pretended extreme anger at the guards, through whose neglect the prisoners had escaped; and that the same accident might not happen again, he proposed to secure the others in a more close prison; and to make this be believed, he made them be conducted in chains aboard his vessels, from which he soon after set them at liberty like the first.

The report soon spread through all the mountains of the Totonacas, that they were relieved from the tribute which they paid to the King of Mexico, and that if there were any other receivers of the tributes, there they should let it be known immediately, that they might be seized. At the sound of this intelligence, the sweet hope of liberty revived in the whole nation, and several other lords came speedily to that city to thank their supposed deliverer, and deliberate upon measures

SECT. XI.
Confederacy
of the Totonacas
with
the Spaniards.

BOOK VIII. to secure their liberty. Some persons, who had not yet banished from their minds the fear of the Mexicans, proposed that they should ask pardon of the king for the outrage committed upon his ministers; but from the suggestions of Cortes, and the lords of Chempoalla and Chiahuitzla, the opposite sentiment prevailed: it was resolved therefore to free themselves from the tyrannical dominions of the Mexicans, with the assistance of those brave strangers, by putting a formidable army under the command of the Spanish General.

Cortes, having sufficiently assured himself of the sincerity of the Totonacas, and informed himself of their force, seized this favourable moment to bring that numerous nation under obedience to the Catholic king. This act was celebrated in the presence of the notary of the army, and with every other legal solemnity.

SECT. XII.
Foundation
of Vera Cruz.

This affair being happily concluded, Cortes took leave of those lords, to put another project in execution, of the greatest importance, which he had formed some time before; that was, to plant a strong colony on this coast, which should be a retreat for them in times of disaster, a fortress to hold the Totonacas to the fidelity which they had sworn to the Spaniards, a place of descent for the new troops which might arrive there either to their assistance from Spain, or the Antilles, and a magazine for the stores which might be sent to them by their countrymen, or which they might desire to send to Europe. This colony was founded therefore in the country of the Totonacas, in a plain which lies at the foot of the mountain of Chiahuitzla, twelve miles from Chempoalla towards the north, and adjoining to the new harbour (*s*). They called it *Villarica* (or rich city) of Vera Cruz, on account of the great appearance of riches they had seen there, and because they had disembarked them on Holy Friday; and this was the first colony of the

(*s*) Almost all Historians have committed a mistake concerning the founding of Vera Cruz; as they say the first colony of the Spaniards was *Antigua*, or the ancient settlement on the river of that name; and believe that there were only two places of that name, that is, ancient Vera Cruz, and the new Vera Cruz, settled on the same sands where Cortes disembarked: but, without doubt, there have been three places of the name of Vera Cruz. The first settled in 1519, close to the port of Chiahuitzla, which retained afterwards only the name of *Villarica*; the second, the ancient Vera Cruz, settled in 1523 or 4; and the third, the new Vera Cruz, which still preserves the name of Vera Cruz, and was settled, by order of the Count of Monterus, Viceroy of Mexico, towards the end of the 16th, or the beginning of the 17th century, and had from Philip III. the title of city given it in 1615.

Spaniards on the continent of North America. Cortes was the first BOOK VIII.
 who put a hand to the settlement to encourage his people by his own example; and, in a short time, with the assistance of the Totonacas, they built a sufficient number of houses, and a small fortress capable of resisting the arms of the Mexicans.

In the mean time the two receivers, whom Cortes set first at liberty, had arrived at Mexico, and had informed the king of all that had happened, bestowing high praises on the Spanish general. Montezuma, who was preparing to send an army to chastise the insolence and temerity of those strangers, and drive them out of his dominions, became pacified with the intelligence, and feeling his obligations to the Spanish general for the service done to the royal ministers, sent two princes, his nephews, accompanied with a numerous retinue of nobility and others, with a present of works of gold worth upwards of a thousand sequius. They returned thanks in the name of the king to Cortes, and at the same time complained of him for having entered so far into friendship with the rebellious Totonacas, that that nation had had the insolence to refuse to pay the tribute which they owed to their sovereign. They added, that solely on account of such guests, an army had not been sent to punish the rebellion of those people, but that in the end they would not remain unchastised. Cortes, after having signified his gratitude in the most becoming expressions, endeavoured to vindicate himself from the accusation of friendship with the Totonacas, by the necessity he was under of seeking provisions for his troops, after he was abandoned by the Mexicans. He said also, that with respect to the tribute, it was impossible that a nation could serve two masters; that he hoped soon to be at court to satisfy the king more completely, and make him sensible of the sincerity of his conduct.

SECT. XIII.
 New embassy and present from Montezuma.

The two princes, after having beheld with great wonder and delight the military exercises of the Spanish cavalry, returned to the court. The lord of Chempoalla, who was extremely displeas'd with that embassy, in order to strengthen the alliance with the Spaniards, presented eight virgins richly dressed to Cortes, that they might marry with his officers; and amongst them was one of his nieces, which he designed for the general himself. Cortes, who had frequently discoursed with him on the subject of religion, told him, he could not accept them,

BOOK VIII. unless they should first renounce idolatry, and embrace Christianity; and upon this occasion explained to him anew the principles of the Christian religion, and reasoned with all his strength on the absurd worship of their false deities, and especially against the horrid cruelty of their sacrifices. To this warm expostulation the Chempoaltese chief replied, that although they most highly valued his friendship, they could not however comply with his request, to abjure the worship of their gods, from whose hand they received health, plenty, and all the blessings they had, and from whose anger, when provoked by ingratitude, they must dread the severest punishment.

Breaking of
the idols of
Chempoalla.

The military fire of Cortes was still more inflamed by this answer; upon which, turning to his soldiers, he said to them, "Come on, soldiers; what do we wait for? How can we suffer men, who pretend to be our friends, to pay that worship to statues and base images, which is due to the only true God? Courage, soldiers; now is the time to shew that we are Spaniards, and that we have inherited from our ancestors an ardent zeal for our holy religion. Let us break the idols, and take from the sight of those infidels such vile incentives to their superstition. If we obtain that end, we will do our God the greatest possible service in our power. If we die in the attempt, eternal glory will recompense the sacrifice of our lives."

The Chempoaltese chief, who from the countenance of Cortes, and the movements of his soldiers, clearly perceived their intention, made a sign to his people to prepare themselves for the defence of their gods. The Spaniards already began to ascend the stairs of the temple, when the Chempoaltese chief, confused and enraged, cried out to them to guard against that attempt, unless they desired that the vengeance of their gods should immediately pour down upon them. Cortes, incapable of being intimidated by their threats, answered, that he had already frequently admonished them to abandon their abominable superstition; that since they had not chosen to take his counsel, which was so advantageous for them, he would no longer hold their friendship; that if the Totonacas themselves were not resolved to take away those detestable images, he and his people would break them, and that they must guard cautiously against shewing any hostility towards the Spaniards, otherwise they would immediately charge upon them with

such fury, that they would not leave a native alive among them. To BOOK VIII.
these threats Marina added another more efficacious, which was, that if they opposed the intention of those strangers, instead of being allied with the Totonacas against the Mexicans, they would join the Mexicans in alliance against the Totonacas, and then their ruin would be inevitable. This motive diverted the chief from the first dictates of his zeal, and the fear of the Mexican arms prevailing over the fear of his gods, he told Cortes he might do as he pleased, for they had not courage themselves to put a sacrilegious hand to their images. The Spaniards no sooner obtained this permission, than fifty of the soldiers mounting rapidly into the temple, took up the idols from the altars, and threw them down the stairs. The Totonacas in the mean while shed a shower of tears, and covered their eyes that they might not see the sacrilege; praying their gods at the same time, in a mournful voice, not to punish the nation for the temerity of those strangers, as they were unable to prevent it, without falling a sacrifice to the fury of the Mexicans. Nevertheless some of them, either less timid and cowardly, or more jealous of the honour of their deities, disposed themselves to take revenge of the Spaniards, and would certainly have engaged with them, if the Spaniards, by seizing the lord of Chempoalla and four principal priests, had not compelled them to restrain the fury of their people.

After this daring act, where prudence was blinded by enthusiasm, Cortes commanded the priests to bring the fragments of the idols before him, and throw them into a fire. He was immediately obeyed; upon which, being full of joy and triumph, as if, by breaking the idols, he had entirely banished idolatry and superstition from those people, he told their chief he was now willing to accept the eight virgins which had been offered him; that from that time he would consider the Totonacas as his friends and brothers, and in all their exigencies would assist them against their enemies; that as they could never more adore those detestable images of the demon their enemy, he would place in the same temple an image of the true mother of God, that they might worship and implore her protection in all their necessities. He then expatiated, in a long discourse, upon the sanctity of the Christian religion; after which he ordered the Chempoallesc masons

BOOK VIII. to cleanse the walls of the temples of those disgustful stains of human blood, which they preserved there as trophies of their religion, and to polish and whiten them. He caused an altar to be made after the mode of Christians, and placed the image of the most holy Mary there. He committed the care of this sanctuary to four Chempoaltese priests, provided they should go always dressed in white, instead of that black melancholy habit which they wore in virtue of their former office. In order that they might never want lights before that sacred image, he taught them the use of wax, which the bees wrought in their mountains; and that they might not in his absence replace the idols, or otherwise profane that sanctuary, he left one of his soldiers, named Juan Torres, behind, who, on account of his age, was of little service in war. The eight virgins, as soon as they were sufficiently instructed, received holy baptism.

From Chempoalla Cortes returned to the new colony of Vera Cruz, where he had the good fortune to recruit his little army with two other officers and ten soldiers, who had landed there from Cuba; and a little time after he was joined by six other men, who had been taken by a vessel belonging to Jamaica.

SECT. XV.
Letters of
Cortes and
the arma-
ment to the
catholick
king.

Cortes, before he undertook the journey to Mexico, thought proper to transmit to his sovereign an account of all that had happened to him; and that the news might be more welcome, he sent at the same time all the gold which had been acquired by the armament, inducing all the soldiers and officers to yield up their shares for that purpose. In this letter Cortes aimed at prepossessing the king against the representations which might be made by the governor of Cuba. Two other letters were also written to the king, one subscribed by the magistrates of the new colony, the other by the principal officers of the expedition, in which they requested his acceptance and approbation of what they had done for him, and to confirm the offices of General and Chief Judge, already conferred by their suffrages, on Cortes, whom they recommended with the most warm praises. Those two letters, with the present of gold, were sent to Spain by the two captains Alonso Hernandez de Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, who set sail on the 16th of July, 1519.

The two commissioners above mentioned were hardly departed when Cortes, who was continually revolving some great design in his mind, put a plan in execution, which alone would have been sufficient to have proved his magnanimity of soul, and immortalised his name. In order to deprive his soldiers of every means, and consequently of every hope of return to Cuba, and to reinforce his little army with all the sailors, after punishing two soldiers with death, who had treacherously conspired to fly off in one of the vessels, and inflicted a less rigorous chastisement on three of their accomplices, he prevailed by argument and entreaty on some of his confidants, and one of the pilots, in whom he placed the utmost trust, to pierce one or two of the vessels secretly to persuade every one that they had foundered from being worm-eaten, and to make a report to him that the others were no longer fit for service on the same account, having lain three months close in port. Cortes availed himself of this deceit that his people might not conspire against him, finding himself reduced to the hard necessity to conquer or die. Every thing was done according to his command, and with the consent of all his people, after having brought the sails, cordage, and every thing else which could be of use on shore. "Thus," says Robertson, "by an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing equal in history, five hundred men agreed of their own free-will to shut themselves up in an enemy's country, full of powerful and unknown nations, deprived of every means of escape, having no other resource left than their perseverance and valour." We do not doubt, that unless Cortes had executed this design, the bold undertaking which he was then meditating would have been impossible; for the soldiers would have been led to shun the obstacles of danger which every way encountered them, by flight, and the general himself must have been compelled to follow them.

His mind being relieved from this anxiety, having ratified the alliance with the Totonacas, and given proper orders for the security and advancement of the new colony, he prepared for his journey to Mexico. He left fifty men in Vera Cruz under the command of Juan d'Escalante, one of the best officers of the armament, charged the Chempoaltese to assist the Spaniards to complete the building of the fortress, and to supply them with all the provisions they required. He set out himself on the 16th of August with four hundred and fifteen Spanish

BOOK VIII.

SECT. XVI.

Celebrated
action of
Cortes.

SECT. XVII.

March of the
Spaniards to
the country
of the Tlascalans.

BOOK VIII. infantry, sixteen horses, two hundred *Tlamama*, or men of burden, to transport his baggage and artillery, and some troops of Totonacas, amongst which were forty nobles, whom Cortes carried with him as auxiliaries in war, and hostages of that nation.

He travelled through Xalapan and Texotla, and after having crossed with infinite fatigue some desert mountains, of a severe temperature of air, he arrived at Xocotla (*t*), a large city, consisting of beautiful buildings, among which arose thirteen temples, and the palace of its lord, which was built of stone and lime, and composed of a number of excellent halls and chambers, being the most complete fabrick they had as yet seen in the new world. The king of Mexico owned in this place, and the hamlets contiguous to it, twenty thousand vassals, and had five thousand Mexicans garrisoned in it. *Olintetl*, which was the name of the lord of Xocotla, came out to meet the Spaniards, and lodged them commodiously in that city; but with respect to provisions, there appeared at first some scarcity, until from the information of the Totonacas they received a high opinion of their bravery and the power of their arms, and their horses. In the conference which he had with the Spanish general, each boasted to the other of the grandeur and power of their respective Sovereigns. Cortes inconsiderately demanded of him to acknowledge obedience to the Catholic king, and to pay homage to his Sovereignty in some quantity of gold. "I have enough of gold," answered *Olintetl*, "but cannot give it without the express order of my king." "I will soon," said Cortes, "make him order you to give it, and all that you have." "If he shall command me," returned *Olintetl*, "I will not only render up my gold, and all my estate, but even my person." But that which Cortes could not obtain by threats from this chief, he got through pure liberality from two other respectable persons of that valley, who having come on purpose to visit him, presented him some necklaces of gold, and seven or eight slaves. Cortes found himself in some perplexity here with regard to the route he should pursue to Mexico. The lord of Xocotla and the commander of the Mexican garrison advised him to proceed through Cholula; but he judged the advice more sincere which the

(*t*) Bernal Diaz and Solis call this city *Zocotlan*, which could easily occasion an error, as it would be easy to confound it with *Zacatlan*, situated at the distance of thirty miles from Tlascala, towards the north.

Totonacas gave him, to pass through Tlascalca. And in fact it will appear, that if he had gone straight to Cholula, he and his whole force must have been destroyed. In order to obtain permission from the Tlascalans to pass through their country, he sent four of the Chempoallesc, whom he carried with him, as messengers to their senate; but they, as appears hereafter, did not deliver their embassy in the name of the Spaniards, but of the Totonacas, either because they had been so ordered by the Spanish general, or because they themselves considered it most proper to do so.

From Xocotla the Spanish army proceeded to *Iztacmaxtitlan*, the population of which extended for ten or twelve miles in two uninterrupted lines of houses upon the two opposite banks of a small river, which runs through the bottom of that long and narrow valley; but the proper city of *Iztacmaxtitlan*, composed of good buildings, and inhabited by six thousand people, occupied the top of a lofty steep mountain, the Lord of which was one of those two persons who visited and made presents to Cortes in Xocotla. To the naturally difficult access of the place were added stout walls, with barbicans and ditches (*u*); for, on account of its being on the frontiers of the Tlascalans, it was more exposed to their invasions. There the Spaniards were well received and entertained.

In the mean while the request of their embassy was discussing in the senate of Tlascalca. All that great city was in alarm at the intelligence of such strangers, and particularly at the account of which the Chempoallesc gave of their aspect, their bravery, the size of their vessels, the agility and strength of their horses, and the dreadful thunder and destructive violence of their artillery. Xicotencatl Maxicatzin, General of the army of the republic, Tlekul, Xolotzin, and Citlalpocatzin, were the four lords or chiefs who at that time governed the republic. The Chempoallesc messengers (*x*) were graciously received, and lodged in the house appropriated for ambassadors; and after they had reposed and dined were introduced into the senate to explain their embassy. There,

SECT. XVIII.
Deliberation
of the senate
of the Tlascalans
upon
the affairs of
the Spaniards.

(*u*) Cortes, in his second letter, compares the fortress of *Iztacmaxtitlan* to the best in Spain.

(*x*) Bernal Diaz says, that the messengers were only two in number, and that as soon as they arrived at Tlascalca they were put in prison; but Cortes himself, who sent them, affirms, that they were four in number; and from the context of his letter, it appears that Bernal Diaz was ill informed of what passed in Tlascalca. The account given by this writer being contrary to that of other ancient historians, both Spanish and Indian, has led many authors, and Robertson among the rest, into errors.

BOOK VIII. after having bowed most profoundly, and saluted with all the other necessary ceremonies, they delivered themselves to this purpose: "Most great
 " and valiant chiefs, may the gods prosper you, and grant you victory
 " over your enemies. The lord of Chempoalla, and all the nation of
 " Totonacas, offer their respects to acquaint you, that from the quarter
 " of the East there are arrived in our country in large ships certain bold
 " adventurous heroes, by the assistance of whom we are now freed from
 " the tyrannical dominion of the king of Mexico. They acknowledge
 " themselves the subjects of a powerful monarch, in whose name they
 " come to visit you, to communicate intelligence to you of a true God,
 " and to assist you against your ancient and inveterate enemy. Our na-
 " tion, following the dictates of that strict friendship which has always
 " subsisted between it and this republic, counsel you to receive those
 " strangers as friends, who, though few in number, are equal in worth to
 " many." Maxicatzin answered, in the name of the senate, that they
 thanked the Totonacas for their intelligence and counsel, and those brave
 strangers for the assistance which they offered them, but that they required
 some time to deliberate upon a point of such importance; that in the mean
 time they would be pleased to return to their abode, where they would be
 treated with the distinction due to their character and birth. The ambassa-
 dors having returned, the senate entered into consideration of the embassy.

Maxicatzin, who was highly esteemed among them, both for his
 prudence and benevolence of disposition, said, That they ought not
 to refuse the advice given them by friends so faithful to them, and so
 hostile to the greatest enemy of the republic; that those strangers,
 according to the marks which the Chempoaltese gave of them, ap-
 peared to be those heroes, who, agreeable to their tradition, were to
 arrive in that country; that the earthquakes which had been felt a
 little before, the comet which was then seen in the heavens, and
 several other events of those last years, were indications that the time
 of the fulfilment of that tradition was at hand; that if they were im-
 mortal, it would be in vain for the republic to oppose their entry.
 "Our refusal," he added, "may be productive of the most fatal
 " misfortunes, and it would be a subject of malicious pleasure to the
 " king of Mexico, to see those whom the republic would not gra-
 " ciously receive into their dominions, introduce themselves by force;

“ that he was therefore of opinion they should be friendly received.”— Although this opinion was listened to with great applause, it was immediately opposed by *Xicotencatl*, an old chief of great authority on account of his long experience in civil and military affairs. “ Our law,” he said, “ enjoins us to receive strangers, but not enemies, who may cause disasters to the state. Those men who demand entrance into our city, appear to be rather monsters cast up from the sea, because it could not endure them in its waters, than gods descended from heaven, as some have vainly imagined. Is it possible they can be gods, who so greedily covet gold and pleasures? And what ought we not to dread from them in a country so poor as this is, where we are even destitute of salt? He wrongs the honour of the nation who thinks it will be overcome by a handful of adventurers. If they are mortal, the arms of the Tascalans will tell it to all the regions round; if they are immortal, there will always be time to appease their anger by homage, and to implore their mercy by repentance. Let their demand, therefore, be rejected; and if they dare to enter by force, let our arms repel their temerity.”—This contrariety of sentiment in two persons of so great respect divided the minds of the other senators. Those who were the friends of commerce, and attached to a life of peace, adhered to the opinion of *Maxicatzin*, while those who were of a military disposition embraced the proposal of *Xicotencatl*. *Temiloltecatl*, one of the senators, suggested a middle course, which would reconcile the two parties. He proposed that a civil and friendly answer should be sent to the chief of those strangers, granting them permission to enter; but at the same time that orders should be given to *Xicotencatl*, the son of the old *Xicotencatl*, to go out with the troops of the Otomies belonging to the republic, to oppose their passage, and to try their strength.—“ If we remain victors,” said *Temiloltecatl*, “ we will do our arms immortal honour; if we are vanquished, we will accuse the Otomies, and charge them with having undertaken the war without our orders (*y*).” Such resources and expedients, though frequent, especially among cultivated nations, are not the less contrary to the good

(*y*) We have mentioned formerly, that many Otomies had taken refuge in Tascalala, from the tyranny of the Mexicans, and had served the republic faithfully.

BOOK VIII. faith reciprocally due between men.—The senate agreed to the counsel of *Temiloltecatl*; but before the messengers were dispatched with their answer, the proposed orders were given to *Xicotencatl*. This was an intrepid youth, an enemy to peace, and enthusiastic for military glory, who eagerly accepted of the commission, as it furnished him with a most eligible opportunity to display his bravery.

Cortes, after having waited eight days for the determination of the senate, imagining that the delay was the consequence of that slowness attending the majesty of potentates, and not doubting, from what the Chempoaltese had told him of being well received by the Tlascalans, left Iztacmaxtitlan with all his army, which, besides the Totonacas and Spaniards, was composed of a considerable number of *Mexican* troops of the garrison of Xocotla, and marched in regular order as usual to the great wall, which on that quarter separates the states of Tlascala from those of Mexico; the description and dimensions of which we have given in the preceding book, where we treated of the fortifications of the Mexicans. It was constructed by the Tlascalans to defend themselves from the invasions of the Mexicans on their eastern frontiers; in the same manner as they had formed ditches and entrenchments for the same purpose in the quarter of the west. The entrance of the walls, which was wont to be guarded by the Otomies, at this time when it was most necessary, upon some account or other, of which we are ignorant, was left without any garrison, by which accident the Spanish army entered without any opposition into the territory of the republic, which they could not otherwise have done without spilling a great deal of blood.

This day, which was the 31st of August, some armed Indians shewed themselves at a distance. The cavalry, which was advanced before the army, in endeavouring to come up with them to gain intelligence of the resolution of the senate, had two horses killed, and three others and two men wounded; a loss most sensibly felt in so small a troop of horse. A body then appeared, imagined to consist of about four thousand men, which was immediately charged upon by the Spaniards and allies, and in a short time defeated, with the death of fifty Otomies. A little after arrived two of the Chempoaltese messengers, with some Tlascalans, who paid their compliments to Cortes in the

name of the senate, and made him acquainted with the permission which was granted him to go with his army to Tlascala, blaming the Otomies for the hostilities which they had suffered, and offering to pay him for the horses which they had killed. Cortes pretended to believe them, and declared his gratitude to the senate. The Tlascalans took their leave, and carried their dead off the field to burn them. Cortes, on his part, buried the two horses which had been killed, that the sight of them might not encourage the enemy to new hostilities.

The following day the Spanish army marched to the neighbourhood of two mountains, where there were some steep grounds and precipices. There the other two Chempoallese messengers, who had remained still in Tlascala, arrived bathed in sweat and tears, accusing the Tlascalans of treachery and cruelty; for that, regardless of the rights of nations, they had ill used, imprisoned, and destined them for sacrifices, which fate they escaped by setting each other free. This account of the Chempoallese was certainly false, as it was altogether impossible, not to say difficult, for victims to liberate themselves, not only on account of the closeness of the cage which confined them, but also the vigilance of the guards which watched them; and still more so, because there is no memory among those nations that the Tlascalans had ever failed in the respect due to the characters of ambassadors, and especially where they were so strictly connected in friendship as they were with the Totonacas. What appears more probable is, that the senate, after it had sent back the two first messengers, detained the other two to dispatch them after they had tried the strength of the Spanish troops; but that the two last, grown impatient of delay, absented secretly, and endeavoured to excuse their flight with these pretences.

The Chempoallese had hardly finished their story, when a Tlascalan squadron, consisting of about a thousand men, made their appearance; and, as they drew near the Spaniards, began to throw stones, darts, and arrows at them. Cortes, after having protested to them, before the notary royal of the army, by means of three prisoners, that he had not come to do them any hurt, and having entreated them not to treat him as an enemy, perceiving that nothing would avail, he gave orders to repulse them. The Tlascalans retreated gradually until they brought the Spaniards to the steep grounds where they could not make use of

SECT. XIX.
War of Tlascala.

BOOK VIII. their horses, and where a large army of the enemy expected them, concerning the number of which authors have been various in their opinions (z). There a terrible contest began, in which the Spaniards thought they must have been totally destroyed. But having formed themselves afresh, in the best manner they could, and being encouraged by the example and exhortations of their general, they extricated themselves from that dangerous situation; and coming again into the plain, they made such havock of the enemy with their artillery and horses, that they forced them to retreat. Of the Tlascalans a vast number were wounded, and not a few lay dead on the field. Of the Spaniards, although fifteen were dangerously wounded, one only died the next day. On this occasion a famous duel happened between an officer of the Tlascalans and one of the Chempoaltese nobles, who had been sent with the message from Cortés to the Tlascalans. They fought for some time most bravely in sight of the two armies, until at last the Chempoaltese noble prevailed; and having thrown his antagonist to the ground, cut off his head, and bore it in triumph to his camp. The victory was celebrated with acclamations and martial music. The place where the battle was fought was called *Teoatzinco*, or place of the Divine Water, and is still known in that country.

That night the Spanish army fixed their camp upon a hill, where there was a tower, about eighteen miles from the capital of Tlascala. They erected barracks for the accommodation of the troops, and formed entrenchments for their defence. In this place the Spaniards remained encamped until the peace with the Tlascalans.

Cortés, in order to compel the Tlascalans, by hostilities, to accept of peace and the friendship which he offered, made an excursion on the 3d of September, with his cavalry, a hundred Spanish infantry, three hundred Chempoallas, and three hundred Mexicans of the garrison of Iztamaxtitlan, set fire to five or six hamlets, and made four hundred prisoners, whom, after having caressed and entertained them, he set at liberty, charging the principal persons among them to go and offer

(z) Bernal Diaz says, that the army of the Tlascalans consisted of about forty thousand men. To Cortés they appeared to exceed a hundred thousand. Other historians have said thirty thousand. It is difficult to compute the number of a large army by the eye, especially when they do not preserve the order of European troops. In order to avoid an error, we have said simply that the army was numerous.

peace, in his name, to the chiefs of that nation. They immediately went to the young Xicotencatl, who was encamped, with a large army, six miles distant from that hill. This fiery youth answered, that if the Spaniards wished to treat of peace, they might go to the capital, where they would be sacrificed as victims to their gods, and their flesh be made food for the Tlascalans; that, as to himself, he would come the next day in person, to give them a decisive answer. This resolution being communicated to the Spaniards by the same messenger, raised such an alarm among them, that they prepared themselves that night for death by the confession of the sacrament, without however omitting the necessary dispositions for their defence. BOOK VIII.

The following day, the 5th of September, the Tlascalan army appeared not less terrible, from the immense multitude of their numbers, than beautiful to view, from the infinite variety of their plumes, and other military ornaments. It was divided into ten squadrons, each of ten thousand men; every one carried its proper standard. In the rear-guard, according to the custom of that nation, was placed the common standard of the republic, which, as we have already mentioned, was a golden eagle with expanded wings. The prince Xicotencatl, in order to make it understood how little he valued the arms of the Spaniards, and that he scorned to take them by famine, but meant to conquer them by battle, sent them a refreshment of three hundred turkeys and two hundred baskets of *Tamalli*, to recruit their strength for the engagement. A little after he detached two thousand brave men to enter the camp of the Spaniards by assault. This attack was so violent and sudden, that they forced the entrenchments, entered the camp, and encountered man to man with the Spaniards. The Tlascalans might now have proved conquerors, not only from the superiority of their numbers, but also from their bravery and the nature of their arms, which were pikes, lances, swords, and darts, with double and triple points, if a discord among themselves had not rendered the victory easy to their enemies. The son of Chichimeca Teuctli, who commanded a body of troops belonging to his father, having received some insult in words from the arrogant Xicotencatl, conceived so much indignation against him, that he challenged him to a single combat, which should determine their courage and their fortune; but having

BOOK VIII. been refused this satisfaction, in order to be in some measure revenged, he withdrew from the field with the troops which were under his command, and prevailed upon those of Tlehuexolotzin to follow him. In spite of this disjunction of the army, the battle was obstinate and bloody. The Spaniards after having bravely repulsed the force which had assaulted their camp, marched in order of battle against the body of the Tlascalan army. The havoc made by the artillery upon the crowded multitude of the enemy, was not sufficient to put the Tlascalans to flight, nor prevent them from filling up with expedition all the vacancies left by the dead; on the contrary, by their steadiness and intrepidity, they threw the Spaniards into some confusion, notwithstanding the cries and reproaches of Cortes and his captains. At length, after some hours of engagement, the Spaniards returned victorious to their camp, although the Tlascalans did not desist from frequent assaults upon them during the whole of that day. Of the Spaniards, one man was missing, and sixty were wounded; likewise all the horses. Of the Tlascalans, great numbers were killed, but not a single dead body was to be seen by the Spaniards, owing to the diligence and activity with which they carried them off the field of battle.

Xicotencatl, disgusted at the unhappy issue of this expedition, consulted the diviners of Tlascala, who reported that those strangers being the children of the sun were invincible during the day; but, as soon as night arrived, by want of the genial heat of that luminary, they were deprived of strength to defend themselves. In consequence of this oracle, that general resolved to make another assault upon the Spanish camp during the night. In the mean while, Cortes sallied out afresh to commit hostilities in the neighbouring villages, of which he burned ten, and among those one of three thousand houses, and returned with several prisoners.

Xicotencatl, that the blow might not fail which he meditated upon the Spaniards, took pains first to gain information of the strength and disposition of their camp. He sent therefore fifty men to Cortes with a present, accompanied with many expressions of kindness and courtesy, charging them to observe every thing minutely; but they were unable to do this with dissimulation sufficient to prevent its being discovered by Teuch, one of the three principal Chempoaltese, who imme-

mediately intimated his suspicion to Cortes. This general having called some of the spies aside, forced them, by means of threats, to reveal that Xicotencatl was preparing to attack them the following night, and that they were sent on purpose to observe at what part of the camp they could most easily make their entry. Cortes having heard this confession (*a*), made the hands of all the fifty be cut off, and sent them back to Xicotencatl, desiring them to let him know that come when he would, by day or by night, he would always make him sensible that they were Spaniards; and the circumstances appearing to favour the battle expected, before the army had made all their preparations for the assault, he set out about the close of the night with a considerable number of troops and his horses, to which he ordered little bells to be hung, at the armour of their breasts, and went to meet the enemy, who were just beginning their march towards the Spanish camp. The sight of the punishment executed upon the spies, and the sound of the little bells in the silence and darkness of the night, raised such a tremor among the Tlascalans, that they suddenly started into confusion and disorder, and fled different ways, while Xicotencatl himself, deserted and alone, returned in shame to Tlascala. Upon this Maxixcatzin took occasion to inculcate his first counsel, adding to the arguments he had already used, the sad experience of so many expeditions which had ended unsuccessfully; he accordingly moved their minds to peace.

While this affair was agitating in Tlascala, the Mexicans were deliberating what course should be taken with those strangers. Montezuma having heard of the victories of the Spaniards, and apprehensive of their confederating with the Tlascalans, summoned the king of Texcuco, his nephew, the prince Cuitlahuatzin, and his other counsellors, explained the state of affairs to them, disclosed his fears, and demanded their advice. The king of Tezcucos adhered to his former opinion; which was, that those strangers should be courteously treated in every place through which they passed; that they should be kindly welcomed at court, and their propositions heard, as well as those of any other vassal, the king still preserving his supreme authority, and exacting the decorum and respect due to the majesty of the throne;

SECT. XX.
New embassies and presents from Montezuma to Cortes.

(*a*) Some historians say, that the fingers only of the Tlascalan spies were cut off; but Cortes himself says, that he made their hands be cut off.

BOOK VIII. that if they should design any thing against the person of the king, or the state, force and severity should then be employed against them. The prince Cuitlahuatzin repeated what he had said in the first conference, which was, that it did not seem expedient to admit those strangers into the court; that a valuable present should be sent to their chief, that he should be asked what things of that country he demanded for the great lord in whose name he came, and that he should be offered the friendship and correspondence of the Mexicans, but at the same time he should again be importuned to return to his native country. Among the rest of the counsellors, some adopted the opinion of the king of Tezcuco, some that of the lord of Iztapalapan, while others sided with Montezuma. This unfortunate king saw every where objects and motives of terror. The confederacy which he dreaded of the Tlascalans with the Spaniards kept him in the utmost uneasiness. On the other hand, he was apprehensive of the alliance of Cortes with the prince Ixtlilxochitl, his nephew and sworn enemy, who from the time that he had conspired against the king of Tezcuco his brother, had never laid down his arms, and was at this very juncture at the head of a formidable army at Otompan. Those causes of alarm were still more augmented by the rebellion of several provinces who had followed the example of the Totonacas.

He sent therefore six ambassadors to Cortes, with a thousand curious cotton dresses, and a large quantity of gold and beautiful feathers, and charged them to congratulate him in his name upon his victories, to make him offers of still more considerable presents, and to dissuade him from the journey to Mexico, by representing to him the difficulty of the way, and other obstacles not easy to be surmounted. The ambassadors immediately departed, with a retinue of more than two hundred men, and having arrived at the Spanish camp, executed with punctuality the whole of their commission. Cortes received them with all the respect due to their character, and acknowledged himself infinitely obliged to the bounty of so great a monarch; but he purposely detained the ambassadors, in hopes that in the time of their stay some occasion of engaging with the Tlascalans might present itself, by which the Mexicans might be impressed with an idea of the bravery of his troops, and the superiority of the European arms; or that if peace should be made with the republic, they might be witnesses of the se-

verity with which he intended to reprimand the Tlascalans for their obstinacy. It was not long before the occasion which he so much desired presented itself. Three divisions of the enemy came down upon the Spanish camp with terrible howls, and a tempest of darts and arrows. Cortes, although he had that day taken a purgative medicine, mounted on horseback, and went intrepidly against the Tlascalans, who were defeated, without much trouble, in the sight of the Mexican ambassadors.

The partizans of the old Xicotencatl being at last persuaded that the war with the Spaniards was by no means advantageous to the republic, and fearing besides that they might form an alliance with the Mexicans, unanimously resolved to make peace, and chose the same general who had fought against them to mediate between them. Xicotencatl, though at first he refused to do so, from being ashamed of the unhappy issue of the war, was at last obliged to charge himself with the commission. He was accompanied to the camp by a noble and numerous retinue, saluted Cortes in the name of the republic, excused themselves for the hostilities already shewn, from having believed him to be the ally of Montezuma, not only on account of the superb presents sent him from Mexico, but also the large troop of Mexicans who followed him; promised him a firm peace, and an eternal alliance with the Tlascalans, and presented him a little gold, and some bales of fine cotton, apologising for the scantiness of their offers, with the poverty of their country, occasioned by their constant wars with the Mexicans, who prevented their commerce with other provinces. Cortes omitted no demonstration of respect towards Xicotencatl; he made an appearance of being satisfied with his excuses, but required that the peace should be sincere and permanent; for that if they ever broke it, he would take such revenge as would make an example of them to other nations.

Peace being concluded, and Xicotencatl having taken his leave, Cortes ordered mass to be celebrated as a thanksgiving to the Almighty. Every one will be able to imagine the displeasure the Mexican ambassadors must have received in seeing such an accommodation take place. They complained of it to Cortes, and blamed his easy credulity in the promises of men so perfidious as the Tlascalans. They told him, that

SECT. XXXI.
Peace and confederacy of the Tlascalans with the Spaniards.

BOOK VIII. those appearances of peace were designed for no other purpose than to inspire him with confidence to enter their capital, that they might there, without hazard, execute that which they had not been able to accomplish by arms in the field; that it was fit he should contrast the conduct of their senate with that of the court of Mexico: the Tlascalans after having, with the semblance of peace, granted them permission to enter their country, had yet not desisted from making war upon them, until they found all their aims and opposition fruitless. From the Mexicans, on the contrary, they had suffered no hostilities, had rather met with the most different reception, the greatest respect and attention in every place of their dominions where they had passed, and from their sovereign the most distinguished proofs of benevolence and friendship. Cortes answered, that he never meant by such connexion to do wrong to the court of Mexico, to which he acknowledged himself under high obligations; as he was desirous of peace with all parties; that besides he did not fear any thing from the Tlascalans, if they chose to become his enemies; that as for him and the other Spaniards, it was the same thing whether they were attacked in a city or in the country, by night or by day, as they were skilled to conquer at all times, and in all places; that even on account of that very insinuation which they had thrown out against the Tlascalans, he was desirous of repairing to their city, to have an opportunity there of taking exemplary vengeance on their perfidy.

The Tlascalans were extremely distant from any such disingenuousness as was imputed to them by the Mexicans; for from that moment in which peace was decreed by the senate, they continued the most faithful allies of the Spaniards, as will appear in the sequel. The senate desired to have Cortes at Tlascala with all his troops, to confirm more effectually their stipulated friendship, and to treat seriously of a confederacy against the Mexicans, and had already, by means of their messengers, invited that general to accept of accommodation in their city; professing the utmost regret at seeing such illustrious friends of the republic suffering so many inconveniences.

The alliance with the Tlascalans was not the only fruit which the Spaniards reaped from their victories. In the same camp where he had received the Tlascalan ambassador, he was favoured with two other

embassies from the republic of Huexotzinco, and the prince Ixtlilxochitl. The Huexotzincas, who had formerly been vassals of the crown of Mexico, and the enemies of the Tlascalans, had delivered themselves from the dominion of the Mexicans, and confederated with the Tlascalans their neighbours, and now they imitated their example in making offers of alliance and confederacy to the Spaniards. The prince Ixtlilxochitl sent ambassadors to Cortes, to congratulate him on his victories over the Tlascalans, and to invite him to make a journey to Teotlalpan, where he proposed to unite his forces with those of the Spaniards against the king of Mexico. Cortes, as soon as he was informed of the rank, pretensions, and forces of that prince, readily accepted his alliance, and engaged to assist to place him upon the throne of Acolhuacan.

At the same time the ambassador, who was expected from Mexico, returned from that court with a present of jewels and gold, worth fifteen hundred sequins, two hundred costly habits of feathers, and new suggestions from that monarch to divert the Spanish general from his journey to Mexico, and from any friendship with the Tlascalans. Such were the vain efforts of pusillanimity in Montezuma, while the great quantity of gold he daily expended in presents to those strangers, was but so much more in purchase of the chains which were soon to fetter his liberty.

Six days had elapsed since the peace made with Tlascala, when the four lords of that republic, in order to induce the Spaniards to remove to Tlascala, made themselves be transported in portable chairs or litters, with a numerous attendance to their camp. The mutual demonstrations of joy and respect were extraordinary on both sides. That famous senate, not contented with ratifying the alliance, of their own accord acknowledged obedience to the Catholic king, which was the more acceptable to the Spaniards, the more the Tlascalans had prized their liberty, which they had enjoyed from time immemorial. They complained with much shew of affection, of the diffidence of Cortes, and prevailed upon him, by their entreaties, to resolve upon his departure for Tlascala the next day.

There was now a deficiency of fifty-five Spaniards of the number who had enlisted in Cuba, and those remaining were for the most part

BOOK VIII.

SECT. XXIII.
Submission
of the republic
of Tlascala to the
Catholic king.

BOOK VIII. wounded and dispirited; and such discontent and apprehensions began to seize the soldiers, that they not only spoke disrespectfully of their chief in private, but also conjured him to return to Vera Cruz; but Cortes encouraged them, and by powerful arguments touching their honour, and his own example of fortitude and firmness in dangers and fatigue, he rekindled in them fresh zeal for his undertakings. At length they all seemed to conceive hopes of success, from the confederacies they had made, to the projects of their general.

SECT. XXIV.
Entry of the
Spaniards in-
to Tlascala.

The Mexican ambassadors whom Cortes still detained with him, refused to accompany him to Tlascala; but he persuaded them to go along with him, promising them, that they should be perfectly secure under his protection. Having removed their doubts, he marched his army in good order and preparation for every event. In the cities of Tecompantzinco and Atlilhuetzian, they were received with all possible courtesy, though not in a style equal to the magnificent entry they made into the capital, from which the four lords of the republic came out to meet the Spaniards with a numerous concourse of nobility, and so great a croud of inhabitants, that some have affirmed they amounted to a hundred thousand people; a calculation, by no means improbable, considering the populousness of Tlascala, and the surprising novelty of those extraordinary strangers, who awakened the curiosity of all that extensive region. In all the streets of the city were formed, according to the usage of those nations, arches of flowers and branches, and a confused music of instruments and acclamations resounded from all sides, accompanied with such jubilee and rejoicing, that it appeared to be rather the celebration of the triumph of the republic than of that of its enemies. This day, still commemorated in Tlascala, was the 23d of September, 1519.

That city was then one of the most considerable in the country of Anahuac. Cortes, in his letters to Charles V. affirms, that in grandeur, populousness, buildings, and abundance of the necessaries of life, it exceeded Granada when that was taken from the Moors; and that at the market, of which he gives a description, there daily assembled about thirty thousand merchants and people of business. The same conqueror attests, that having obtained an order of the senate to make the houses and inhabitants be numbered which were in the city,

the villages, and hamlets of the republic, there were found upwards of fifty thousand houses, and more than five hundred thousand inhabitants. BOOK VIII.

The Tlascalans had prepared, for the Spaniards and all their allies, a handsome and commodious dwelling. Cortes desired that the Mexican ambassadors might be lodged in apartments near to his own, not only in respect to them, but also to banish from their minds any distrust of the Tlascalans. The chiefs of the republic, in order to give the Spaniards a new proof of the sincerity of their friendship, presented to Cortes thirty beautiful young women. Cortes refused them at first, alledging, that the Christian law forbid polygamy; but afterwards, to avoid giving offence, he accepted some of them as companions to Marina. In spite of this refusal, they presented him soon after five virgins of the first nobility, whom Cortes accepted for the sake of strengthening his friendship with the republic.

Encouraged by this successful beginning, Cortes became desirous of persuading the chiefs of the republic and the nobles, to abandon their superstitious rites, and acknowledge the only true divinity; but although his reasons were persuasive, and they confessed the power of that God whom the Spaniards adored, they could not, however, be induced to renounce their absurd deities, because they believed them dispensers of human felicity. "Our god Camaxtle," they said, "grants us victory over our enemies; our goddess Matlalcueje sends rain to our fields, and defends us from the inundation of Zaluapan (*b*). To each of our gods we are indebted for a part of the happiness of our lives, and their anger, if provoked, might draw down upon the state the most severe punishment." Cortes, stimulated by a zeal too ardent and violent, was desirous of treating the idols of Tlascala in the same manner as he had successfully done those of Chempoallan; but Olmedo, and other persons of respect, dissuaded him from so rash an attempt, representing to him, that such an act of violence, besides not being conducive to the promulgation of the gospel, might prove the ruin of the Spaniards in a city so populous, and attached to superstition. Nevertheless, he did not cease, during twenty days which he stopped

(*b*) A river of Tlascala.

BOOK VIII. there, to reproach them with the cruelties of their sacrifices, and to inculcate the purity of his system of morality, the falseness of their deities, and the existence of a supreme Being, who governs all natural causes, and watches with most admirable providence over the preservation of his creatures. Those exhortations, made by a person of so great authority, and of whom the Tlascalans had formed a very elevated idea, although they did not produce all the effect desired, had considerable influence, and so far moved the senate, that they consented to break the cages, and set at liberty all the prisoners and slaves which were to be sacrificed to their gods on solemn festivals, or other public occasions of the state.

Thus every day the alliance with the Tlascalans was more firmly established, in spite of the repeated suggestions of the Mexican ambassadors to break it. Cortes, though well persuaded of the sincerity of the Tlascalans, had given orders to his troops to hold themselves always prepared for whatever might happen. The senate was offended at this, and complained bitterly of his diffidence, after so many manifest proofs of their good faith; but Cortes excused it, by protesting, that he did not so from any diffidence of the Tlascalans, but because it was the practice of the Spaniards: this answer satisfied the senate, and the discipline of his soldiers pleased them so much, that Maxixcatzin proposed to introduce it among the troops of the republic.

At length Cortes having procured, during the time he stayed in Tlascala, a distinct information of the city of Mexico, of the forces of that kingdom, and every other particular which could farther his projects, determined to continue his journey; but before he set out, he presented a great number of the most beautiful habits which he had received from Montezuma, to the Tlascalans. He was doubtful of the route he should pursue to that city. The Mexican ambassadors proposed that he should go by Cholula, where there was good accommodation prepared for all his people. The Tlascalans opposed that intention, by representing the perfidy of the Cholulans, and advised him to proceed by Huexotzinco, a state confederated equally with them and the Spaniards, but Cortes resolved to go by Cholula, not only to please the ambassadors, but also to shew the Tlascalans the little regard he paid to the force of his enemies.

The Cholulans had been formerly the allies of the Tlascalans; but upon the arrival of the Spaniards were confederated with the Mexicans, and the sworn enemies of that republic. The cause of so great an enmity had been the perfidy of the Cholulans. In a battle with the Mexicans, while they were yet the allies of the Tlascalans, being in the vanguard of the army, by a sudden evolution they put themselves in the rear, and, attacking the Tlascalans behind while the Mexicans were upon their front, made a great slaughter of them. The hatred which this detestable treachery had raised in the breasts of the Tlascalans made them anxious for an opportunity of revenge, and no time had appeared more favourable than now, when they were become confederated with the Spaniards. In order to inspire Cortes with dislike to them, and induce him to make war upon that state, they acquainted him with its conduct towards him; that they had not sent any messengers with compliments to him, whereas the Huexotzincas had done so, although their state was at a much greater distance. They informed him also of the message which they said they had received from the Cholulans, reproaching them for their alliance with the Spaniards; calling them base and cowardly, and threatening them, that if they should attempt any thing against their sacred city they should all perish by being drowned; for among their other errors, they were persuaded, that whenever they chose they could, by raising the walls of the sanctuary of Quetzalcoatl, make such large rivers spring from thence, as would in a moment overflow the city; and although the Tlascalans dreaded such a catastrophe, the desire of revenge overcame their fears.

Cortes, moved by these suggestions, sent four noble Tlascalans to Cholula, to know why they had not paid the same regard which was shewn to him by the Huexotzincas. The Cholulans laid their excuse on the enmity of the Tlascalans, in whom they never could repose any confidence (c). This answer was brought by four common people,

(c) Torquemada adds, that the Cholulans retained the principal messenger of the Tlascalans, and with savage cruelty flayed his face and arms, and cut off his hands; but this account is unquestionably false, for so atrocious a proceeding could not remain unknown to the Spaniards; but neither Cortes, Bernal Diaz, nor any other of the first historians mention it. Cortes would not have omitted it in his letter to Charles V. to justify the severity of his chastisement of the Cholulans.

BOOK VIII.

SECT. XXV.
Enmity between the Tlascalans and Cholulans.

BOOK VIII

which was considered as a manifest demonstration of disrespect. Cortes being advertised of it by the Tlascalans sent four of the Chempoallese, to tell the Cholulans that the embassy of a monarch so great as the king of Spain, ought not to have been entrusted to such low messengers, nor were they themselves worthy to hear it; to let them know, that the Catholic king was the true lord of all that country, and that in his name he came to demand homage of those people; that those who should submit to him would be honoured, and the rebels punished according to their desert; that therefore they should make their appearance within three days in Tlascala, to give obedience to their sovereign, otherwise they would be treated as enemies. The Cholulans, although it is to be supposed they treated so arrogant an embassy with burlesque, in order to dissemble their malicious intention, presented themselves the next day to Cortes, requesting him to excuse their omission, occasioned by the enmity of the Tlascalans, declaring themselves not only the friends of the Spaniards, but also the vassals of the king of Spain.

SECT. XXVI.
Entry of the
Spaniards in-
to Cholula.

Having determined his route through Cholula, Cortes set out with all his people, and a considerable number of Tlascalan troops (*d*), all which he soon discharged, except six thousand men, whom he chose to accompany him. A little way before they arrived at Cholula, the principal lords and priests, with censers in their hands and musical instruments, came out to meet him, and after having paid the usual ceremonies of respect, they told the general, that he might enter with all his people and the Totonacas; but they could not admit their enemies the Tlascalans. To this Cortes consented through complaisance, and the Tlascalans remained encamped without the city, imitating in the disposition of their camp, the order of their centinels, and other things, the military discipline of the Spaniards. At the entry of the Spanish army into Cholula, a similar croud of people was collected, and the same ceremonies, acclamations, and respect, were observed, though not with the same sincerity, as in Tlascala.

(*d*) Cortes says, that this army of the Tlascalans consisted of more than one hundred and forty-nine thousand men. Bernal Diaz affirms, as an undoubted fact, which was well known to him, that it consisted only of fifty thousand men. This number appears the most probable.

Cholula was then a populous city, eighteen miles distant from Tlascala towards the south, and about sixty from Mexico towards the east, and not less celebrated for the commerce of its inhabitants than its religion. It was situated, as it is at present, in a beautiful plain, and at a small distance from that group of mountains which surround the valley of Mexico towards the east. Its population at that time, as Cortes affirms, occupied about forty thousand houses, and there were as many in the circumjacent villages which were in the nature of suburbs to it. Its commerce consisted in manufactures of cotton, gems, and plates of clay, and it was much famed for its jewellers and potters. With respect to religion, it may be said, that Cholula was the Rome of Anahuac. The celebrated Quetzalcoatl having passed so many years in that city, and shewn so much affection to his subjects, was the cause that after his apotheosis, it was consecrated by the most particular worship. The surprising multitude of temples which were there, and in particular the greater temple, erected upon an artificial mountain, which is still existing, drew innumerable pilgrims, not only from the neighbouring cities, but likewise from the most distant provinces, to perform their devotions at that imagined holy spot.

Cortes was lodged, with all his troops, in some large buildings, where, during the two first days, they were abundantly supplied with provisions; but very soon they began to grow scanty, until at last there was nothing furnished by the city but wood and water. This was not the only proof of their secret machinations and intentions; for every moment they discovered new indications of the treachery which they meditated. The Chamopallesc observed, that they had made holes and dugpits in the streets of the city, in which they had fixed sharp stakes, and covered them with earth, which it appeared was done for no other purpose than to wound and disable the horses. Eight men, who came from the camp of the Tlascalans, apprised them that they had seen crowds of women and children coming out of the city; a certain sign among those nations of some impending commotion. Besides, it was found out, that in some of the streets they had formed entrenchments, and collected great heaps of stones upon the tops of the houses. Lastly, a Cholulan woman of rank, who had become enamoured of the beauty, the spirit, and discretion of Marina, intreated her to save

BOOK VIII. herself in her house from the danger which threatened the Spaniards; upon which Marina took occasion to inform herself of the whole plan of the conspiracy, and immediately told Cortes of it. He heard from the mouth of the same person, that the Cholulans, with the assistance of twenty thousand Mexicans (e), who were encamped near the city, had concerted to massacre all the Spaniards. Not contented with these discoveries, he charged Marina to use all her art to bring two priests to his dwelling, who confirmed all that had been communicated to her by her female friend.

Cortes, finding himself in such hazard of utter destruction, resolved to adopt the most effectual means for his safety. He ordered the principal persons of the city into his presence, and told them, that if they had any quarrel against the Spaniards, to declare it frankly, as became men of honour, and he would give them suitable satisfaction. They replied, that they were already satisfied with his conduct, and ready to serve him; that whenever he chose to depart, he should be abundantly provided with every thing that was necessary for his journey, and also troops of war for his security. Cortes accepted their offer, and fixed the next day for his departure. The Cholulans were content, as it appeared that every thing would turn out favourable to their treacherous design; but in order to ensure that still more, they sacrificed to their gods ten children, five of each sex. Cortes called together his officers, unfolded to them the perfidious intentions of the Cholulans, and ordered them to give their sentiments. Some were of opinion that their danger should be shunned, by retreating to the city of Huexotzinco, which was hardly nine miles distant, or to Tlascala; but the majority referred themselves to the determination of the general. Cortes gave the orders which seemed to him most suited to his purpose, protesting that they could never be secure in Mexico unless they punished that deceitful city with severity. He ordered the auxiliary troops of Tlascala to storm the city at sun-rise the next day, and to cut off every citizen without pardon to any one except women and children.

SECT. XXVII.
Slaughter
made in Cholula.

The day at length arrived, which wreaked disaster on Cholula. The Spaniards prepared their horses, their artillery, their arms, and formed

(e) Bernal Diaz says, that the Mexican army, according to what he knew, consisted of twenty thousand men. Cortes affirms, that the lords of Cholula confessed to him, that that army was not composed of less than fifty thousand men.

themselves in order, in a square of their dwelling, which was designed for the principal theatre of the approaching tragedy. The Cholulans repaired thither at break of day. The chiefs, with about forty nobles, and the baggage men entered into the halls and chambers to lift up the equipage, when suddenly guards were placed to prevent their escape. The Cholulan troops, or at least great part of them, entered into the square along with the principal lord of that city, at the request, it is probable, of Cortes himself, who mounting on horseback, spoke to them in this manner: "Cholulans, I have endeavoured to make you my friends; I have entered peaceably into your city, and here you have received no wrong from me, nor any of my friends; but, on the contrary, that you might have no subject of complaint, I consented that the auxiliary troops of the Tlascalans should not be admitted here: besides, I have requested you to say freely, if we had done you any injury, that you might have satisfaction; but you have, with detestable perfidy, under the appearance of friendship, laid a scheme to betray me, and destroy me and my people. I know the whole depth of your bloody designs." Then calling aside four or five Cholulans, he asked them what had induced them to resolve on so execrable an attempt? They replied, that the Mexican ambassador, to render an agreeable service to their sovereign, had enticed them to meditate their destruction. Cortes then, with a countenance full of indignation, thus addressed the ambassadors who were present: "Those wretches, to excuse their crimes, impute the treachery to you and your king; but I neither believe you capable of such infamy, nor can I persuade myself that the great monarch Montezuma would treat me like a cruel enemy, at the very time he is giving me the sincerest proofs of his friendship; and as he could oppose me with open force, that he would employ traitors to anticipate him! Be assured, that I will pay regard to your persons in the slaughter and blood we shall shed. To-day, those traitors shall perish, and their city shall be convulsed. I call heaven and earth to witness, that it is their perfidy which arms our hands for revenge, unnatural to our hearts."

Having spoke this, and made the signal of attack by the discharge of a musket, the Spaniards fell with such fury upon those miserable vic-

BOOK VIII. tims, that they did not leave one alive of all those who were in the square. The streams of blood which flowed about, and the painful yells of the wounded and dying enemy, would have been sufficient to have shocked and waked pity in every breast that was not fired with the fury of revenge. Having terminated the tragic scene within, they issued out to the streets, and sheathed their swords in the bodies of all the Cholulans they met. The Tlascalans, on their part, entered the city like famished lions, their fierceness growing with the thirst of the blood of their enemies, and eagerness to please their new allies. A stroke, so keen and unexpected, put the citizens immediately into disorder; but having formed themselves into several different squadrons, they made for some time a vigorous resistance, until at last, perceiving the havoc which the artillery made, and feeling the superiority of the European arms, they went again into confusion. The greater part of them sought their safety in flight; some had recourse to the superstitious hope of razing the walls of the temple to deluge the city: but, finding that expedient totally fruitless, they endeavoured to fortify themselves in their houses and temples. But neither did this avail, for the enemy set instant fire to every house where they met with any resistance. The houses and towers of the temples were in flames; the streets discovered nothing but bloody or half-burnt carcasses, and nothing was heard but the insulting menacing clamours of the confederates, the feeble groans of dying men, curses, and imprecations on the victors, and complaints to their gods why they had abandoned them in such calamities. Amongst the many who fled to the towers of the temples, there was but one which surrendered to the victors; all the rest were either burnt to ashes, or met death less painful, by precipitating themselves from those heights.

By means of this horrid slaughter, in which upwards of six thousand Cholulans (*f*) perished, the city became depopulated. The temples and houses were plundered, the Spaniards seizing all the gems, gold, and silver, and the Tlascalans all the apparel, feathers, and salt. This tra-

(*f*) Las Cas has grossly disfigured this event of Cholula. The revenge of the Spaniards was perhaps too rigorous, but their provocations were strong. He relates it, as we find it, among the most faithful historians who were present, or were informed by the ancient Spaniards and Indians.

gedy was hardly finished, when there appeared near Cholula an army of twenty thousand men, sent by way of succour by the republic of Tlascala, under the command of general Xicotencatl. It was probable that this was owing to some dispatch having been sent the night before to the senate, by the chiefs of the Tlascalan troops, encamped without the city. Cortes returned thanks for the supply, presented to Xicotencatl and his officers a part of the booty, and requested him to return with his army to Tlascala, as it was not now necessary; but he retained the six thousand men who had assisted him in the punishment of Cholula, that they might accompany him in his journey to Mexico. Thus did the alliance of the Spaniards with the Tlascalans become gradually more firm and established.

Cortes having returned to his dwelling, where forty of the Cholulan nobility remained in a manner prisoners, he was requested by them to give way to mercy, after so much rigour, and to permit one or two of them to go and recall the women, children, and other fugitives, who were wandering in terror and dismay through the mountains. Cortes, being now moved to pity, commanded a cessation of arms, and published a general pardon. Upon the report of this proclamation, suddenly some were seen to rise from among the dead who had counterfeited death in order to escape it, and troops of fugitives coming from the mountains to the city, some bewailing the loss of a son, some a brother, and some their husbands. Cortes ordered the dead bodies to be carried off from the temples and the streets, and set the nobles who were prisoners at liberty. A few days after, that city was again so well peopled it appeared to want none of its inhabitants. Here Cortes received the compliments of the Huxeotzoncas and the Tlascalans, and an oath of allegiance to the crown of Spain from the Cholulans themselves, and the Tepejachese nation, he adjusted the differences between the two republics of Tlascala and Cholula, and re-established their ancient friendship and alliance, which continued firm ever after. At length, in order to comply with the duties of humanity and religion, he made all the cages of the temples be broke, and set all the prisoners and slaves at liberty who were destined for the sacrifices. He ordered the greater temple to be cleaned, and raised there the standard of the cross, after giving the Cholulans, as he did to all the other people among whom he stopped, some idea of the Christian religion.

SECT.
XXVIII.
Submission
of the Cho-
lulans and
Tepejachese
to the crown
of Spain.

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SECT. XXIX.

New embassy and presents from the king of Mexico.

The Spanish general, elated by his successes, or perhaps desirous of intimidating Montezuma, charged the Mexican ambassadors to tell their master, that notwithstanding he had formerly intended to enter peaceably into Mexico, on seeing and considering what had happened in Cholula, he was now determined to enter as an enemy, and to do him every evil he could. The ambassadors answered, that before he took a resolution of that kind, he ought to make a more strict enquiry into the conduct of the Cholulans, to certify himself of the good intentions of their sovereign; that, if he thought proper, one of them would go to the court, and lay his complaints before the king. Cortes consented to it, and after six days the ambassador returned, bringing a large present to the general, consisting of ten plates of gold, worth five thousand sequins; one thousand five hundred habits, and a great quantity of provisions; thanking him, in the name of his sovereign, for the punishment inflicted on the perfidious Cholulans; and protesting, that the army raised to surprise the Spaniards on their journey, consisted of the Acatzinches and Itzocanese nations, the allies of Cholula, who, although the subjects of the crown of Mexico, had taken up arms without any order from their sovereign. This was confirmed by the asseverations of the ambassadors, and Cortes made an appearance of being perfectly satisfied.

It is not an easy matter to clear up the truth in this particular, neither can we avoid blaming the forwardness of some authors in asserting so freely what they do not know. Why should the Cholulans, who were allowed by all to be a false deceitful nation, be given more credit than the Mexicans, and Montezuma himself, who from the eminence of his rank and character, was more worthy of faith? The invariably pacific disposition of that monarch towards the Spaniards, having attempted no hostile stroke on many and those favourable occasions which occurred, to oppress them; and the moderation with which he always spoke of them, which no authors deny, make the excuse made by the Cholulans improbable: but, on the other hand, it assumes an air of truth from some, though indirect proofs, of the enmity of Montezuma, and in particular from hostilities committed upon the garrison of Vera Cruz by a powerful feudatory of the crown of Mexico.

Quauhpopoca, lord of Nauhtlan (called by the Spaniards Almeria), a city situated upon the coast of the Mexican gulf, thirty-six miles towards the north from Vera Cruz, and close to the confines of the Mexican empire in that quarter, had orders from Montezuma to reduce the Totonacas to their wonted obedience, as soon as Cortes had retired from that coast. He, in compliance with those orders, demanded of those people with threats, the tribute which they were accustomed to pay to their sovereign. The Totonacas, rendered insolent from the favour of their new allies, answered with arrogance, that they would no longer pay homage to him who was no longer their king. Quauhpopoca, perceiving that his requests had no influence in bringing again under subordination men who had so much confidence in their new allies, and no respect for their sovereign, having put himself at the head of the Mexican troops which were in the garrisons of those frontiers, began to make incursions into the settlements of Totonacapan, punishing them by hostilities for their rebellion. The Totonacas made their complaints to Juan de Escalante, governor of the garrison of Vera Cruz, and intreated him to put a stop to the cruelty of the Mexicans, engaging also to assist him with a large number of troops. Escalante sent an embassy to the Mexican chief to dissuade him from hostilities, which he imagined could not be approved of by the king of Mexico, who had shewn so much desire to favour the Spaniards, the protectors of the Totonacas. Quauhpopoca answered, that he knew better than him whether the punishment of those rebels was or was not agreeable to the Mexican king; that if the Spaniards intended to support them, he, with his troops, would meet them on the plain of Nauhtlan, that arms might decide their contest. The governor could not brook this answer; upon which he marched immediately to the appointed place with two horses and two small pieces of cannon, fifty Spanish infantry, and about ten thousand Totonacas. Upon the first onset of the Mexicans, the Totonacas were instantly thrown into confusion, and the greater part took to flight; but to the utter shame of their cowardice, the fifty Spaniards courageously continued the battle, doing no little damage to the Mexicans. They, having never experienced the violence of the artillery and the European mode of engagement, retreated in terror to the neighbouring city of Nauhtlan. The

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 SECT. XXX.
 Revolutions
 in Totonaca-
 pan.

BOOK VIII. Spaniards pursued them with fury, and set fire to some houses ; but the victory cost the Spaniards the life of the governor, who died of his wounds in three days after ; and of six or seven soldiers, and a number of Totonacas. One of these soldiers, who had a large head and fierce aspect, was taken prisoner and sent to Mexico by Quauhpopoca, but having died of his wounds in his way to that city, they only carried his head to Montezuma, the appearance of which so shocked and daunted that king, that he would not have it offered to his gods in any temple of the court.

Cortes received intelligence of these revolutions before he left Cholula (g) ; but did not think proper to mention them nor discover his uneasiness, lest it might have discouraged his soldiers.

SECT. XXXI.
Journey of
the Spaniards
to Tlalmalco.

Having nothing more to do in Cholula, he pursued his journey to Mexico with all his Spaniards, six thousand Tlascalans, and some Huexotzincan and Cholulan troops. At Izcalpan, a village of Huexotzincan, fifteen miles distant from Cholula, the chiefs of Huexotzincan, came again to pay their respects to him, and to advertise him, that there were two ways of going to Mexico ; the one, an open and well-made road, which led to some precipices where there was reason to apprehend some ambuscades of the enemy ; the other was newly stopped up, and obstructed with trees cut down on purpose, which however was of the two the shorter and more secure route. Cortes availed himself of this intimation, and in spite of the Mexicans, made the obstacles in this way be removed, under pretence that the difficulty was rather an incitement to the courage and spirits of the Spaniards ; and continued his journey through that great wood of pines and oaks, until he ascended to the top of a high mountain, called *Ithualco*, between the two volcanos Popocatepec and Iztaccihuatl, where they found some large houses built for the accommodation of the merchants of Mexico. There they were able to judge of the bold undertaking of the captain Diego de Ordaz, who a few days before, in order to display to those people the courage of his nation, mounted, along with nine other soldiers, to the highest summit of Popocatepec, although he could not see its mouth, or the vent of that great volcano, on account of

(g) All, or nearly all historians say, that intelligence of this revolution reached Cortes when he was in Mexico ; but Cortes affirms that he had it in Cholula.

the deep snow which lay there, and the clouds of smoke and ashes which it threw up from its bowels (*h*). BOOK VIII.

From the top of Ithualco the Spaniards got their first view of the beautiful valley of Mexico, but with very different impressions from the prospect; some of them delighted in the sight of its lakes, its pleasant lying plains, its verdant mountains, and numerous and splendid cities, which were situated within and around those lakes; others revived their hopes of enriching themselves with the plunder of so great an extent of country as they there discovered; but the more prudent of those adventurers, on beholding so populous a territory, reflected on the temerity of encountering the perils before them, and were suddenly so checked by their apprehensions, that they would have immediately returned to Vera Cruz, had not Cortes, by making use of his authority and the reasons suggested by his fruitful genius, infused into them fresh ardour for the undertaking.

In the mean while Montezuma, in consternation at the event of Cholula, retired to the palace Tlillancalmecatl, destined for occasions of grief, and continued there eight days, fasting and observing the usual austerities, in order to obtain the protection of his gods. From this place of retirement he sent four persons of his court with a present to Cortes, and new prayers and entreaties to dissuade him from his journey; offering to pay an annual tribute to the king of Spain, and to give four loads of gold to the Spanish general (*i*), and one to each of his captains and soldiers, if they would, from that place where they might be found by his ambassadors, depart for their native country. In such apprehensions and terror did the small body of Spaniards keep this superstitious prince! He could not have made use of more diligence and arts to shun

(*h*) Bernal Diaz, and almost all historians, say that Ordaz, ascended to the top of Popocatepec, and observed the mouth of that famous mountain; but Cortes, who knew better, says not. Notwithstanding Ordaz obtained from the Catholic king a volcano to be put in his shield of arms. This great undertaking was reserved for Montagno, and others, Spaniards, who, after the conquest of Mexico, not only observed the dreadful mouth of that volcano, but entered there, at the utmost risk of their lives, and got out from it a large quantity of sulphur to make powder for their fire-arms.

(*i*) The ordinary load of a Mexican having been about fifty Spanish pounds, or eight hundred ounces, we may conjecture, considering the number of the Spaniards, that what Montezuma was willing to give them to dissuade them from their journey to the court, was equal to more than three millions of sequins.

BOOK VIII. their sight, had he foreseen all the misfortunes they were to bring upon him. The ambassadors joined Cortes at Ithualco; the present they brought him consisted of several works of gold, which were valued at fifteen hundred sequins. Cortes shewed them every possible respect and attention, and answered by returning thanks to the king for the present and his magnificent promises, to which he would be able to return good services; but at the same time declaring, that he could not return back without making himself blameable for disobedience to his sovereign, and promising not to be the means on his part of the smallest injury to the state; and that, if after having explained to his majesty the embassy which he bore, and which he could not trust with any other person, he should not approve of the longer stay of the Spaniards in his dominions, he would without delay set out on his return to his native country.

Montezuma's uneasiness was increased by the suggestions of the priests, and particularly by the account which they gave of some sayings of their false oracles, and some terrible visions which they said they had during this time. He was at last thrown into such alarm and consternation, that, without waiting for the issue of the last embassy to the Spaniards, he held a new council with the king of Tezcuco, his brother Cuitlahuatzin, and some other persons whom he used to advise with, all of whom maintained their former opinions; Cuitlahuatzin, that of not admitting the Spaniards to enter the court, and to make them by gentleness or force to quit the kingdom; while Cacamatzin was for receiving them as ambassadors, as the king had strength enough to crush them, if they should militate either against his royal person or the state. Montezuma, who had hitherto constantly adhered to the opinion of his brother, now embraced that of the king of Tezcuco, but at the same time he charged this same king to go to meet the Spaniards, and to endeavour to dissuade the general from his journey to the court; Cuitlahuatzin then turning to the king his brother, said, "The gods desire, O king, that you do not receive
" into your house those who will drive you from it, and that you
" would remedy the evil while you still have time and means to do it."
"What shall we do," returned the king, "if our friends, and what
" is more our gods, instead of favouring us, prosper our enemies? I
" am resolved, and wish that all would be resolute, not to fly nor

“ shew any cowardice, happen what will—but I pity the aged and the young, who have no strength and can make no defence !”

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Cortes having dismissed the Mexican ambassadors, moved with his troops from Ithualco, and proceeded through Amaquemecan and Tlalmanalco, two cities about nine miles distant from each other, and situated near the base of those mountains. Amaquemecan, with its adjacent hamlets, contained two thousand inhabitants (*k*). At those places the Spaniards were well received, and several chiefs of that province visited Cortes, and presented him gold and some slaves ; they complained bitterly of the oppression they suffered from the king of Mexico and his ministers, in the same terms made use of by those of Chempoalla and Chiahuitztlá, and at the suggestion of the Chempoaltese and Tlascalans, who accompanied Cortes, entered into a confederacy with the Spaniards for the recovery of their liberty. In short, the farther the Spaniards advanced into the country, the more they continued to increase their forces ; like a rivulet, which, by the accession of other streams, swells in its course by degrees into a large river.

From Tlalmanalco the army marched to Ajotzinco, a village situated upon the southern bank of the lake of Chalco (*l*), where there was a harbour for the vessels of merchants who trafficked with the countries to the southward of Mexico. Curiosity to view the quarters of the Spaniards cost very dear to some of the Mexicans, for the Spanish centinels imagining them to be spies, from the apprehensions they were constantly under of some treachery, shot about fifteen of them that night. The following day, just as they were ready to march, some Mexican nobles arrived with intelligence, that the king of Tezcucoco was come to visit the Spanish general in the name of the king of Mexico his uncle. It was not long before the king himself joined them, borne in a litter, adorned with fine feathers, on the shoulders of four of his domestics, and accompanied by a numerous and brilliant

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XXXII.
Visit of the
king of Tez-
cucoco to
Cortes.

(*k*) Amaquemecan, called by the Spaniards Mecameca, is at present a village no otherwise noted than for having been the birth-place of the celebrated nun Joan Agnes of the Cross, a woman of wonderful genius and uncommon learning.

(*l*) Solís confounds Amaquemecan with Ajotzinco ; Amaquemecan was never situated, as he says, on the border of the lake, but at twelve miles distance from it, upon the side of a mountain.

BOOK VIII. retinue of Mexican and Tezucan nobility. As soon as he came in sight of the Spanish general, he alighted from the litter and began walking on foot, preceded by some of his servants, who industriously removed out of his way every thing which could either offend his feet or his sight. The Spaniards were astonished at this pomp, and from thence began to form conjectures of the parade and grandeur which must attend the king of Mexico. Cortes went to the door of his dwelling to meet him, and saluted him with a profound bow, which was returned by the king in touching the earth with his right hand and then lifting it to his mouth. He entered with an air of lordliness and majesty into one of the halls, sat himself down, congratulated the general and his officers on their happy arrival, and signified the particular pleasure his uncle the king of Mexico had in forming a friendship and correspondence with the monarch of the East, by whom they were sent into that country; but at the same time, he exaggerated the difficulties necessary to be overcome in order to go to court, and requested Cortes to change his resolution if he desired to please the king. Cortes answered, that if he returned back without delivering his embassy he would fail in his duty, and would give the utmost displeasure to his sovereign who had sent him, and particularly when he had found himself so near to the court after having surmounted the dangers of so long a journey. *If it is so,* said the king, *we will see each other at court;* upon which taking polite leave, after being presented with some European toys, he left behind him a part of the nobility, that they might attend Cortes on his journey.

From Ajotzineo the Spaniards marched to Cuitlahuac, a city founded upon a little island in the lake of Chalco, which, though small, was accounted by Cortes the most beautiful he had hitherto seen. This city communicated with the main land by means of two large commodious roads, constructed on the lake; the one to the south, which was two miles in length; the other to the north, which was more than two miles in length. The Spaniards passed along, delighted to see the multitude and beauty of the cities situated on the lake, the temples and towers which rose above the other buildings, the trees and shrubbery which beautified the inhabited places, the fields and

floating gardens of the lake, and the innumerable little vessels plying upon it; but at the same time, not a little timorous at seeing themselves surrounded by an immense crowd of people, which collected there from all places to observe them; on which account Cortes commanded his people to proceed in good order and to be prepared for accidents, and cautioned the Indians not to obstruct the way nor come too near the ranks, unless they chose to be treated as enemies. In Cuitlahuac they were well accommodated and entertained. The lord of that city complained in secret to Cortes of the tyranny of the king of Mexico, entered into a confederacy with him, and informed him of the most convenient way to go to the court, and the consternation into which the oracles of the gods, the phenomena in the heavens, and the success of the Spanish arms, had thrown Montezuma.

From Cuitlahuac they proceeded by the other road of the lake towards Iztapalapan, but in the way Cortes was entertained with a new piece of good fortune. The prince Ixlixochitl finding that Cortes was not to make his journey through Calpolalpan, where he was waiting for him, resolved to meet him on the road to Iztapalapan: he marched with a considerable number of troops, and passed close to Tezcuco: this having been known to the prince Coanacotzin, his brother, who, since the rupture which, as we have already mentioned, happened three years before between them, had been totally alienated from him, either moved by fraternal affection, or led on by the hopes of the greater advantages to be derived from the union of both their interests, came also to meet with him upon this road: here they mutually exchanged sentiments, were reconciled, and united together in order to make a confederacy with the Spaniards. They travelled together until they came to Iztapalatenco, where they joined the strangers. Cortes, upon seeing so many armed troops, was a little uneasy, but being informed of the rank of the persons who were come to find him, and the motive of their coming, he went out to meet them, and the usual compliments having passed between them, the two princes invited him to the court of Tezcuco, to which he allowed himself to be easily persuaded to go, from the great service he hoped to gain by the

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SECT.
XXXIII.
Visit of the
princes of
Tezcuco, and
entrance of
the Spaniards into
that court.

BOOK VIII. prince Ixtlilxochitl, whose attachment to the Spaniards was now strongly
 apparent.

Tezcuco then, though somewhat inferior to Mexico in splendour and magnificence, was the largest and most populous city of the country of Anahuac: its population, including the cities of Huexotla, Coatlichan, and Atenco, which were so near as to appear like its suburbs, occupied one hundred and forty thousand houses: to the Spaniards it seemed twice as large as Seville. The grandeur of the temples and royal palaces, the beauty of the streets, the fountains and gardens, furnished ample variety of subject for their admiration. Cortes entered into this great city accompanied by the two princes and many of the Acolhuan nobility, amidst an infinite concourse of people. He was lodged with all his army in the principal palace of the king, where the treatment to his person was suitable to the dwelling. There the prince Ixtlilxochitl explained his pretended right to the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and his complaints against his brother Cacamatzin and the king of Mexico his uncle. Cortes promised to put him in possession of the throne, as soon as he had finished his negociations in Mexico; and, without stopping in that court, he marched towards Iztapalapan.

SECT.
 XXXIV.
 Entry of the
 Spaniards
 into Iztapa-
 Japan.

Iztapalapan was a large and beautiful city, situated towards the point of that small peninsula which is between the two lakes of Chalco to the south, and Tezenco to the north: from this peninsula a road led to the little island of Mexico, which was paved for more than seven miles, and made on the lake many years before. The population of Iztapalapan consisted then of more than twelve thousand houses, built chiefly on several little islands contiguous to each other and the same peninsula, close to which were innumerable floating fields and gardens. This city was then governed by the prince Cuitlahuatzin, brother of Montezuma, and his immediate successor in the crown of Mexico, who, together with his other brother Matlatzincatzin lord of the city of Cojohuacan, received Cortes with the same ceremonies used by the other lords through whose cities he passed. He was complimented in an elegant harangue, and he, and his troops which accompanied him, lodged in his own palace. This was an extensive and most capacious

edifice of stone and lime, fresh built, and not yet completed: besides many halls and chambers of excellent accommodation, the roofs of which were cedar, and the walls covered with fine cotton tapestry, and besides many large squares where the allied troops were quartered, it had a garden of surprising extent and beauty, already described by us when we treated of the agriculture of the Mexicans. After dinner the prince conducted his guests to this garden, where they received great recreation, and were impressed with a very elevated idea of Mexican magnificence. In this city the Spaniards observed, that instead of murmurings and complaints as elsewhere, they heard nothing but praises of the government; supposed to have been owing to the neighbourhood of the court, which made the inhabitants more cautious in speaking.

The next day the Spaniards marched along that road which united, as we have already mentioned, Iztapalapan with Mexico, which was intersected by seven small canals for the passage of boats from one lake to the other, and over these were wooden bridges for the convenience of passengers, which lifted up easily when it was necessary to obstruct the passage of an enemy. After having passed through Mexicaltzinco, and viewed Colhuacan, Huitzilopochco, Cojohuacan, and Mixcoac, cities all situated upon the borders of the lake, they arrived, amidst an immense concourse of people, at a place called *Xoloc*, where this and the road of Cojohuacan met each other. In the angle formed by these two roads, which is not more than half a league distant from the capital, there was a bastion with two little towers, surrounded by a wall more than ten feet high, with battlements, two entrances, and a draw-bridge; a place most memorable in the history of Mexico, from having been the camp of the Spanish general in the siege of that great city; there the army made a halt, to receive the compliments of more than a thousand Mexican nobles, all uniformly dressed, who, in passing before the Spanish general, made a bow with the usual ceremony of touching the earth and kissing the hand.

These compliments being over, in which the space of an hour was consumed, the Spaniards continued their course, all in as regular order as if they had been going to the field of battle. A little way before

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Entry of the
Spaniards
into Mexico:

BOOK VIII. reception they reached the city, Cortes was informed that the king of Mexico from the king was coming to meet him ; and a little after he appeared, with a most and nobility. numerous and noble attendance. Three nobles preceded, each holding up in his hand a golden rod, as the insignia of majesty, by which the people were advertised of the presence of their sovereign. Montezuma came richly clad in a litter covered with plates of gold, which four nobles bore on their shoulders, under the shade of a parasol of green feathers embroidered with fancy works of gold; he wore hanging from his shoulders a mantle adorned with the richest jewels of gold and precious stones, on his head a thin crown of the same metal, and upon his feet shoes of gold tied with strings of leather worked with gold and gems; he was accompanied by two hundred lords, drest in a style superior to the other nobles, but all barefooted, two by two, keeping close on each side to the walls of the houses, to shew the respect they bore to their sovereign. As soon as the king and the Spanish general saw each other, both alighted, Cortes from his horse, and the king from his litter, who began to walk leaning on the arms of the king of Tezucuo and the lord of Iztapalapan. Cortes, after having made a profound bow to the king, approached him to put about his neck a small cord of gold, on which were strung glass beads which appeared like gems, and the king bowed his head to receive it (*m*) ; Cortes was also going to embrace him, but the two lords did not permit it. The general expressed in a short speech, as the circumstances required, his benevolence, his respect, and the pleasure he had in the knowledge of so great a monarch. Montezuma answered him in few words, and having performed the usual ceremony of touching the earth and kissing the hand, he in return for the present of the glass beads, gave him two necklaces of beautiful mother of pearl, from which hung some large cray-fish of gold in imitation of nature: he charged the prince Cuithluatzin to conduct Cortes to his dwelling, and he himself retired with the king of Tezucuo.

(*m*) Solis, in his account of that meeting, makes four mistakes: 1. He says, that the present made by Cortes was not a band or chain of glass. 2. That those two lords who accompanied Montezuma, did not permit Cortes to put it about his neck. 3. That they did it with some disdain. 4. That they were reprimanded by the king. The whole of this is false, invented by caprice, and contrary to the account given by Cortes himself.

The nobility as well as the populace, who, from the tops, doors, and windows of the houses, were observing all that passed, were equally surprised and astonished at the sight of so many extraordinary objects presented to their eyes, and the unheard-of complaisance of the king, which contributed much to raise the character of the Spaniards. The latter, full of wonder at seeing the grandeur of the city, the magnificence of the buildings, and the multitude of inhabitants, marched along that grand and spacious way, which, without varying the least from a right line, continued the road of Iztapalapan, built upon the lake, to the southern gate of the greater temple, admiration alternately giving way to fear in their minds for their fate, seeing so small a number of them in the center of a strange and populous kingdom. Thus they travelled on for near a mile and a half within the city, unto the palace destined for their reception, which formerly belonged to king Axajacatl, not far distant from the western gate of the same temple. Here Montezuma, who had gone before, waited for them. When Cortes arrived at the gate of that palace, Montezuma took him by the hand, led him into a large hall, made him sit down upon a foot-stool similar in form to those of the altars of the moderns, and covered with a fine tapestry of cotton, and close to a wall also covered with a tapestry embroidered with gold and gems; and, taking leave of him, said to him "You and your companions are now in your own house, refresh and repose yourselves; I will return shortly."

The king went to his palace, and Cortes immediately ordered a volley of all the artillery to be fired, in order to awe and intimidate the Mexicans by the sound: in the mean while, he went to see all the chambers of the palace where his people were to lodge. This edifice was so large, that both the Spaniards and their allies, who, together with their women and servants whom they brought with them, exceeded seven thousand in number, were accommodated in it; every where there was the greatest cleanliness and neatness, almost all the chambers had beds of mats, of rushes, and palm, according to the custom, and other mats in a round form for pillows, with coverlets of fine cotton, and seats made of single pieces of wood; some chambers had the floor covered with mats, and the walls also covered with tapestries of cotton of various colours. The walls were moderately thick, and at certain

BOOK VIII. distances there were little towers ; the Spaniards therefore found every thing which they could wish for their security. The indefatigable and cautious general immediately distributed his guards, placed a battery of his cannon facing the gate of the palace, and took as much care to fortify himself as if he had expected to be assaulted that night by his enemies. That day there was a magnificent entertainment prepared for Cortes and his officers, and served by the nobility, and for the rest of the army were brought various and abundant provisions, though of an inferior quality. This day, not more memorable to the Spaniards than to the Mexicans, was the eighth day of November, 1519, seven months after their arrival in the country of Anahuac.

BOOK IX.

Conferences of King Montezuma with the Spanish General; Imprisonment of the Kings of Mexico and Acolhuacan, and other Lords; cruel Punishment of Quauhpopoca; Attempts of the Governor of Cuba against Cortes, and the Defeat of Panfilo Narvaez; the killing of many of the Nobles, and Insurrection of the People against the Spaniards; Battle of Otompan, and Retreat of the Spaniards to Tlascala; Election of King Cuiclahuatzin; Victories of the Spaniards in Tepejacac, in Xaltatzinco, in Tecamachulco, and in Quauquechollan; Havoc made by the Small-Pox; Death of King Cuiclahuatzin, and the Princes Maxizcatzin and Cuicuitzcatzin; Election in Mexico of the King Quauhtemotzin.

AFTER the Spaniards had dined and ordered every thing necessary for their security, the king returned, accompanied by many of the nobility to visit them. Cortes came to meet him along with his officers, and both parties entered together into the principal hall, where they quickly placed another footstool close to that of the Spanish general. The king presented to him many curious pieces of work of gold, silver, and feathers, and more than five thousand very fine dresses of cotton. Having at last sat himself down, he made Cortes sit down also, while every other person remained standing. Cortes in lofty expressions protested his gratitude to him, and as he was proceeding in his discourse Montezuma interrupted him, with these words: “ Brave general, and you his companions, all my domestics
“ and courtiers are witnesses of the pleasure I have received from your
“ happy arrival at this court; and if, hitherto, there has been any
“ appearance of a wish to oppose it, so much has only been done to hum-
“ our my subjects. Your fame has enlarged objects and alarmed
“ minds. It was reported that you were immortal gods; that you
“ came mounted on wild beasts of tremendous size and fierceness;

BOOK IX.

SECT. I.
First conference and new presents of the king Montezuma.

BOOK IX. “ and, that you darted thunder with which the earth trembled: some
“ related, that you were monsters thrown up by the sea; that the
“ insatiable thirst of gold made you abandon your native country;
“ that you were greatly addicted to pleasures; and such gluttons, that
“ one of you eat as much as ten of us: but all these errors are dissi-
“ pated by the experience which my subjects have had of you; now
“ it is known that you are mortal men like us, although differing in
“ complexion and beard; we have now seen with our own eyes that
“ those wild beasts so renowned, are only stags more corpulent than
“ ours; and, that your pretended thunder and lightning are only a
“ more artificial species of shooting tubes, whose balls are pushed with
“ more force, and do more hurt than ours: with regard to your per-
“ sonal qualifications, we are well informed by those who have had com-
“ munication with you, that you are kind and generous, that you pa-
“ tiently endure misfortunes, that you are not disposed to severity, un-
“ less against those who provoke your anger by hostilities, nor make use
“ of your arms but in defence of your persons.

“ I do not doubt that you will in like manner have banished from
“ your minds, or that you soon will banish, those false ideas with which
“ you may have been impressed by the flattery of my vassals or the adu-
“ lation of my enemies: some of them may have told you that I am
“ one of the gods, and that I put on at pleasure the form of a lion,
“ a tyger, or any other animal; but now you see (taking hold with
“ his fingers of the skin of his arm) that I am of flesh and bone like
“ other mortals, although more noble by birth and more powerful
“ from the elevation of my rank. The Chempoallese, who, under
“ your protection, have renounced obedience to me (although their
“ rebellion shall not pass unpunished) will have made you believe,
“ that the walls and roofs of my palaces are of gold, but your own eyes
“ have now undeceived you: this is one of my palaces, and you here
“ see that the walls are made of stone and lime, and the roofs of wood.
“ I will not deny that my riches are great, but they are exaggerated by
“ my subjects: some of them will have complained to you of my
“ cruelty and tyranny; but they term the lawful exercise of the su-
“ preme authority tyranny, and call that cruelty which is but the ne-
“ cessary rigour of justice.

“ Abandoning therefore all false conceptions occasioned to either
 “ of us by unjust representations, I accept the embassy of your king
 “ who sends you; I respect his friendship, and offer all my kingdom
 “ to his obedience; since from the signs we have observed in the
 “ heavens, and what we have seen in you, the period seems to be arrived
 “ when the predictions of our ancestors are to be fulfilled, that is, that
 “ there were to come from the quarter of the East, certain men dif-
 “ ferent in habit and in customs from us, who were to become lords of
 “ all this country; for we are not the original people of this land. It
 “ is not many years since our ancestors came here from the regions of
 “ the North, and we have not ruled these people but as the viceroys of
 “ Quetzalcoatl our god and lawful sovereign.”

Cortes answered, by thanking him warmly for the singular kindnesses he had hitherto received from him, and for the honourable idea he had formed of the Spaniards. He told him he was sent by the greatest monarch of Europe, who, although he might aspire to some thing higher in virtue of his being the descendant of Quetzalcoatl, nevertheless, he contented himself with establishing a confederacy and perpetual friendship with his majesty and his successors; that the end of his embassy was not to take away from any one that which he possessed, but that of announcing a true religion, and communicating some important information which would improve his government, and render his vassals happy; this he would do upon another occasion, if his majesty would vouchsafe to hear him. The king assented to his proposal, and having informed himself of the rank and condition of every one of the Spaniards, he took leave, and some little time after he sent them a large present, consisting of some works of gold, and three bales of fine feathers, dresses for each of the officers, and two bales of dresses of fine cotton for each of the soldiers. This prosperous beginning might have secured to the Spaniards the quiet possession of all that vast monarchy, if they had conducted themselves with prudence equal to their courage (*n*).

(*n*) The learned and judicious Acosta, treating of the first conference with Montezuma, in book vii. chap. 25. of his History, says, “ Many are of opinion, that considering the state of “ things on that first day, it would have been easy for the Spaniards to have “ done with the king and the kingdom, whatever they pleased, and to have communi-
 “ cated to them the law of Jesus Christ with peace and contentment to all,” &c.

BOOK IX.

SECT. II.
 Visit of Cortes to the king.

The next day Cortes being desirous to pay his visit to the king, sent to demand an audience, and obtained it so speedily, that those who brought him the answer of the king were the persons themselves appointed to introduce ambassadors, and were to conduct him and instruct him in the ceremonials of that court. Cortes dressed himself in his most splendid habit, and took along with him the captains Alvarado, Sandoval, Velasquez, and Ordaz, and also five soldiers. They proceeded to the royal palace, amidst an immense multitude of people, and as soon as they reached the first gate, the persons who accompanied them ranged themselves in two files, one on each side of them, as it was deemed a want of respect to majesty to enter in a crowded manner. After passing through three courts, and some halls, to the last antichamber in order to come at the hall of audience, they were politely received by several lords who kept guard, and were forced to put off their shoes, and to cover their pompous dresses with some coarse garments. When they entered the hall of audience, the king made some steps towards Cortes, and took him by the hand, and giving a look of kindness to all the rest, he made them all sit down. Their conference was long on different subjects. The king asked several questions concerning the government and natural productions of Spain; and Cortes, after having satisfied him in every thing, artfully led the discourse upon matters of religion. He explained to him the unity of God, the creation of the world, the severity of the judgments of God, the glory with which he rewards the just, and the eternal punishments to which he condemns the wicked. Then he spoke of the rites of Christianity, and in particular of the pure and unbloody sacrifice of the mass; to draw a comparison between it and the inhuman sacrifices of the Mexicans, declaiming warmly against the barbarous cruelty of sacrificing human victims, and feeding on their flesh. Montezuma answered, that with respect to the creation of the world they were of one sentiment; as that which Cortes had just said had been communicated to him by his ancestors; that as to the rest he had already been informed by his ambassadors of the religion of the Spaniards. I, however, he added, do not doubt of the goodness of the God whom you adore; but if he is kind to Spain, our gods are equally so to Mexico, as the experience of many centuries has shewn to us. Spare your-

selves therefore the trouble of endeavouring to induce me to leave their worship. With regard to our sacrifices, I do not know why we are to be blamed for sacrificing to the gods those men, who, either on account of their own crimes, or from their fate in war, are destined to death. But although Cortes did not succeed in converting him to the Christian religion, he obtained a promise, as has been affirmed, that there never should be any human flesh prepared for the royal table, either because the reason urged by Cortes against it, wakened in his mind the horror natural at such food, or because he was desirous of shewing compliance with the Spaniards in some of their demands. On this occasion also he displayed the royal beneficence towards them, presenting to Cortes, and his four officers, several labours of gold, and ten bales of fine dresses of cotton, and a golden necklace to every soldier.

Cortes having returned to his quarters (for thus we may hereafter name the palace of Axajacatl where the Spaniards were lodged, he began to reflect on the danger which surrounded him in the heart of a city so strong and populous, and resolved to conciliate the minds of the nobles by good conduct, obsequious and kind manners, and ordered his people to behave themselves with so much guard and discretion that the Mexicans might have nothing to complain of: but while he appeared to watch with diligence to keep peace, he was revolving in his mind most daring and rash designs, totally adverse to tranquillity; and in order to bring them to maturity, it being necessary to inform himself with his own eyes of the fortifications of Mexico, and the forces of the Mexicans, he demanded permission of the king to visit the royal palaces, the greater temple, and the square of the market. The king cheerfully granted his request, unsuspecting of the crafty general, nor foresaw the consequences of his great indulgence. The Spaniards saw all they wished to see, and found every where new subjects of admiration.

The city of Mexico was then situated, as we have already said, upon a small island in the lake of Tezcuco, fifteen miles to the westward from that court, and four to the eastward from that of Tlacopan. For the convenience of passing to the main land, there were three great causeways of earth and stone, raised in the lake. That of Iztapalapan, towards the south, upwards of seven miles; that of Tlacopan,

SECT. III.
Description
of the city of
Mexico.

BOOK IX. towards the west, about two miles; and that of Tepejacac, towards the north, of three miles in length (*p*); and all three so broad, that ten men on horseback could pass abreast. Besides these three roads, there was another somewhat narrower for the two aqueducts of Chapultepec. The circumference of the city, exclusive of the suburbs, measured more than ten miles, and the number of houses were at least sixty thousand (*q*). The city was divided into four quarters, and each quarter into several districts, the Mexican names of which are still preserved among the Indians. The dividing lines of the four quarters, were the four broad roads, leading from the four gates of the area of the greater temple. The first quarter called *Tecpan*, now St. Paul, comprehended all that part between the two roads leading from the southern and eastern gates. The second *Mojotla*, now St. John, the part between the southern and western roads. The third *Tlaquechiuhcan*, now St. Mary, the part between the western and northern roads; and the fourth *Alzacualco*, now St. Sebastian, the part of the city between the roads which led from the northern and eastern gates. To those four parts into which the city was divided from the time of its foundation, the city of Tlatelolco was added as a fifth, situated towards the north-west, having been united after the conquest of king Axajacatl to Tenochtitlan, and both together formed Mexico.

(*p*) Dr. Robertson puts instead of the road of Tepejacac, that of Tezcucoc, which, in the part where he describes Mexico, he places towards the north-west, and when he speaks of the posts of the Spanish forces at the siege of that capital, he places it towards the east: though he has already said, that there was no road upon the lake towards the east: but there never was, nor could be, any road on the lake from Mexico to Tezcucoc, on account of the prodigious depth of its bed in that part; and if there could have been any, it would not have been only three miles as this author affirms, but fifteen miles in length, which is the distance between them.

(*q*) Torquemada affirms, that the population of the capital amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand houses; but the anonymous conqueror, Gomara, Herrera, and other historians, agree in the number of sixty thousand houses, not that of sixty thousand inhabitants, as Roberson says; for no ancient author computed them so few in number. It is true, that in the Italian translation of the relation of the anonymous conqueror we read *sessante mila abitanti*; but this has been, without doubt, a mistake of the translator, who having, perhaps, found in the original *sesanta mil Vecinos*, translated it sixty thousand *abitanti*, when he ought to have said *fuochi*; because, otherwise Cholula, Nochomilco, Izta-palapan, and other such cities would be made greater than Mexico. But in the above mentioned number the suburbs are not included. It appears that Torquemada included the suburbs, but still his calculation appears excessive.

Around the city there were many dykes and reservoirs for collecting water when it was necessary; and within it so many canals, that there was hardly a district which could not be approached by boats; a circumstance which did not less contribute to embellish the city, and to make the transportation of provisions, and all other commodities of traffick easy, than to give the citizens security from the attempts of their enemies. Although the principal streets were broad and strait, of many others, some were mere canals, where there was no passing but in boats; others were paved and free of water, and some had a small channel between two terrasses, which served for the convenience of passengers, and for the unloading of vessels, or were little gardens planted with trees and flowers.

Among the various buildings of the city, besides many temples and magnificent royal palaces, of which we have already spoken, there were other palaces, or great houses, which the feudatory lords had constructed for their habitation during the time which they were occasionally obliged to reside at court. Almost all the houses, except those of the poor, had balconies with parapets, and some of them even battlements and towers, though much smaller than those of the temples: so that, upon the whole, the Mexicans provided for their defence in their streets and houses as well as their temples.

Besides the large and famous square of Tlateloco, where the principal market was held, there were other little market-places distributed through the city, where they sold ordinary provisions. There were also in different places fountains and fish-ponds, particularly near to the temples, and many gardens, part laid out on the natural level of the earth, and part raised into high terrasses.

The many and great buildings, neatly whitened and polished, the lofty towers of the temples, scattered through the four quarters of the city, the canals, trees, and gardens, formed an assemblage of objects so beautiful, that the Spaniards appeared never satisfied with viewing it, particularly when they beheld it from the upper area of the greater temple, which not only commanded a prospect of all the extent of Mexico, but also of the lake, and the beautiful and populous cities around it. They were not less astonished at seeing the royal palaces, and the wonderful variety of plants and animals which were reared

BOOK IX. there; but nothing struck their minds with more amazement than the large square of the market. There was not a Spaniard who did not extol it with singular praises, and some of them, who had travelled through almost all Europe, declared, as Bernal Diaz reports, that they had never seen in any place of the world, either so great a number of merchants, or such variety of merchandize so well ordered and disposed.

SECT. IV.
Effects of
Cortes's reli-
gious zeal.

When the Spaniards mounted the greater temple, they found the king there, who had anticipated their arrival, in order to prevent, by his presence, any attempt of violence against his gods. After having observed the city from that great height, at the instance of the king himself, Cortes demanded permission to see the sanctuaries which the king granted to him after consulting the priests. The Spaniards entered there, and contemplated, not without compassion and horror, the blindness of those people, and the horrid slaughter which superstition committed at their sacrifices. Cortes then turning to the king, said, "I wonder, prince, that a monarch, so wise as you are, can adore those abominable figures of the devil as gods." "If I had known," answered the king, "that you would have spoken disrespectfully of our gods, I should not have yielded to your request." Cortes, seeing him so much incensed, begged his excuse, and took leave to withdraw to his quarters, "Go in peace," said the king; "for I will stay here to appease the anger of our gods, which you have provoked by your blasphemy."

Notwithstanding this circumstance of disgust, Cortes not only obtained permission from the king to build within the enclosure of his quarters a chapel in honour of his god, but also the workmen and materials for the building, in which they celebrated mass, although without wine, and the soldiers daily assembled there to perform their devotions. He fixed also, in the principal court, a great cross, that the Mexicans might see the high veneration in which they held that symbol of their religion. He was moreover desirous of consecrating the very sanctuary of Huitzilopochtli to the worship of his god, but at that time he was restrained by respect for the king and the priests; but he accomplished this purpose some months after, having acquired a

greater authority by the imprisonment of the king, and other actions not more prudent or less rash, as will presently appear. BOOK IX.

He broke the idols which were worshipped there, made them clean and adorn the sanctuary, placed a crucifix and an image of the mother of God in it, and placing himself upon his knees before those sacred images, he thanked the Almighty for having granted leave to adore him in that place, so long destined to cruel and detestable idolatry. His pious zeal made him frequently repeat to Montezuma his arguments for the truth of his religion; but although Montezuma was not disposed to embrace it, moved however by his suggestions, he commanded that from that time forward no human victims should be sacrificed; and although he did not agree with the Spanish general in renouncing idolatry, he continued to caress him, and no day passed without his making some present to, and shewing new civilities to the Spaniards. The order which the king gave respecting the sacrifices were not strictly observed, and that great harmony, which had hitherto subsisted, was disturbed by the daring attempts of the Spanish general.

Six days were hardly elapsed after the entry of the Spaniards into Mexico, when Cortes, finding himself, as it were, insulated in the centre of an immense myriad of people, and considering how dangerous their situation would become, if the mind of the king should ever change, which event might happen, was persuaded there was no other conduct to be followed for their security than to make himself master of the person of the king; but such a measure being extremely repugnant to justice and reason, which demanded from him both respect to the majesty of that monarch, and gratitude for his great beneficence, he sought for pretences to quiet his conscience, and to shield his honour; for which purpose he found none so fitting as the revolutions at Vera Cruz, the intelligence of which he had kept secret in his breast till this time, but being willing now to avail himself of it, he revealed it to his officers that they might take into their serious consideration what would be most proper and effectual to deliver themselves from such imminent danger; and, in order to justify his attempt, and excite the Spaniards to execute it, he made some principal persons of the allies be called (whose information ought always to be suspicious, on account of their bitter enmity to the Mexicans), and demanded of them if they had ob-

SECT. V.
Imprisonment of king
Montezuma.

BOOK IX. served any thing new in the inhabitants of that court? They replied, that the Mexican populace was then amused with the public rejoicings, which the king had ordered, to celebrate the arrival of such noble strangers; but ~~that~~ amongst the nobility they perceived a suspicious look; and, among other things, they had heard them say, that it would be easy to lift up the bridges upon the canals, which seemed to indicate some secret conspiracy against the Spaniards.

Cortes could not sleep from uneasiness that whole night, and passed it traversing his quarters in deep meditation. A centinel told him, that in one of the chambers there was a door which had been fresh walled up. Cortes made it be opened, and upon entering they found several chambers, where the treasure of the deceased king was deposited. He saw there many idols, a great quantity of works of gold, of gems, of feathers, of cotton, and several other things which were paid by the tributary provinces, or presented by the feudatory lords to their sovereign. After beholding with amazement so much riches, he made the door be again walled up, and left in its former state.

The next morning he called together his captains, represented to them the hostilities committed by the lord of Nauhtlan upon the garrison of Vera Cruz and the Totonacas their allies, which the allies themselves said would not have been offered without the express order or permission of the king of Mexico. He painted, in strong colours, the danger in which they then stood, and declared his design to them, exaggerating the advantages which were to be expected from the execution of it, and diminishing the evils which it might occasion. Their opinions were various. Some of them rejected the proposition of the general as rash and impracticable, and said, that it would be fitter to ask permission from the king to retire from the country, since as he had endeavoured, with so much earnestness, and such large presents, to turn them from their resolution of coming to Mexico, he would promptly consent to their departure. Some of them thought, that although it was necessary for them to depart, yet they imagined that it would be proper to do it secretly, in order to give the Mexicans no opportunity of betraying them in any manner; but the greater part of them having, it is probable, been previously biassed by the general, embraced his proposal, rejecting the others as more dangerous and ignominious. “What will

“ they say of us ?” they asked, “ when they see us go suddenly from a court where we have been crowned with honour ; who will not be persuaded that it is fear which chases us away ? If we ever lose the reputation of courage, what security can we promise ourselves, either in those places of the Mexicans through which we must pass, or among our allies, who will no longer be restrained by respect for our arms ?” At last, the resolution was formed to take Montezuma in his palace, and to bring him prisoner to their quarters ; a resolution most barbarous, however, and wild to excess, suggested by apprehensions for their fate, and their past uniform experience of success, which, more than any thing else, encourages men, and leads them gradually on always to some still more daring undertaking.

For the execution of this dangerous plan, Cortes put all his troops in arms, and stationed them at proper places. He commanded five of his officers and twenty-five of his soldiers, in whom he placed chief confidence, to repair two by two to the palace, but in such a manner that they might all meet there at once, as if by accident ; and having previously obtained leave of the king, he went himself with his interpreter Marina, at the usual hour of his visit to him. He was introduced with the other Spaniards into the hall of audience, where the king, far from suspecting what was to happen, received them with his wonted kindness. He made them sit down, presented them to some works of gold, and besides presented one of his daughters to Cortes. Cortes, after having expressed his gratitude, in the most polite terms, apologised for not accepting her, alledging that he was married in Cuba, and according to the Christian law, he was not permitted to have two wives ; but at last he received her into his company, to avoid giving disgust to the king, and to have an opportunity of making her a Christian, as he afterwards did. To the other officers also he gave some daughters of Mexican lords of those he had in his seraglio. They conversed afterwards, for some time, on various subjects ; but Cortes, seeing that those discourses diverted him from his object, told the king that his visit then was made to communicate to him the proceedings of his vassal the lord of Nauhtlan : he complained of the hostilities committed by that lord on the Totonacas, on account of their friendship with the Spaniards ; of the war made on the Spaniards

BOOK IX. at Vera Cruz, and the death of Escalante the governor, and six soldiers of that garrison. "I (he added) must give an account to my sovereign " of the death of those Spaniards; and in order to be able to give him " proper satisfaction, I have made enquiry into so singular an event. " All consider you the principal author of those revolutions; but I " am far from thinking so great a monarch capable of such perfidy as " to persecute me as an enemy in that province, while at the same time " you are heaping favours upon me in your court." " I do not " doubt (replied the king) but those who accuse me of the war of " Nauhltlan are the Tascalans, my sworn enemies; but I protest I had " no influence in it. Quauhpopoca has proceeded to do so without my " orders, and rather against my inclination; and that you may be " assured of the truth, I will make him immediately come to court, " and put him into your hands." He immediately called two of his courtiers, and delivering to them a certain gem, which he always wore hanging at his arm, and served in place of a seal as a sign of his commands, he ordered them to go with all possible speed to Nauhltlan to bring Quauhpopoca from thence to court, and the other principal persons who were concerned in the death of the Spaniards, and gave them authority to raise troops, and take them by force if they should refuse to obey.

The two courtiers departed immediately to execute their commission, and the king said to Cortes, "What can I do more to assure you of " my sincerity?" "I have no doubt of it (answered Cortes); but " in order to clear up the error into which your vassals have likewise " fallen, that the affair of Nauhltlan had been executed by your orders, " we wish for a strong proof of it, which will manifest your benevolence " towards us; and no one seems more adapted for this purpose than that " of your condescending to live with us until the guilty persons appear, " and manifest your innocence by their confession. That will be sufficient to satisfy my sovereign, to justify your conduct, to honour " and shelter us under the shade of your majesty." In spite of the artful words in which Cortes endeavoured to disguise his daring and injurious pretension, the king immediately penetrated his meaning, and was disturbed. "When was there ever an instance (he said) " of a king tamely suffering himself to be led into prison? And although

“ I was willing to debase myself in so vile a manner, would not all my vassals immediately arm themselves to set me free? I am not a man who can hide myself, or fly to the mountains; without subjecting myself to such infamy, I am here now ready to satisfy your complaints.” “ The house, prince (returned Cortes), to which we invite you, is one of your palaces; nor will it excite the wonder of your subjects, who are accustomed to your change of habitation, to see you now go to inhabit the palace of your deceased father Axajacatl, from a motive of shewing your benevolence towards us. In case your subjects afterwards should dare to do any thing against you or us, we have enough of courage, strong arms, and good weapons, to repel their violence. In other respects I engage my faith you shall be as much honoured and attended upon by us as by your own subjects.” The king persevered in his refusal, and Cortes in his importunity; until at last, one of the Spanish officers, extremely daring and impetuous, not brooking this delay to the execution of their project, said, in passion, that they should leave discoursing, and resolve to take him by force, or put him to death. The king, who discerned in the aspect of the Spaniard, what was his purpose, eagerly demanded of Marina what that furious stranger said? “ I, prince (she answered with mildness and discretion), as your subject, desire your happiness; but as the confidant of those men, know their secrets, and am acquainted with their character. If you condescend to do what they require, you will be treated by them with all the honour which is due to your royal person; but if you persist in your refusal, your life will be in danger.” That unhappy king, who from the time that he had the first intelligence of the arrival of the Spaniards, had been struck with a superstitious panick, and had become daily more pusillanimous, seeing himself in such difficulty, and being persuaded that before his guards could come to his succour he might perish by the hands of men so daring and resolute, at last yielded to their importunity. “ I am willing to trust myself with you; let us go, let us go, since the gods thus intend;” and immediately he ordered his litter to be prepared, and he got into it, in order to be transported to the quarters of the Spaniards.

BOOK IX.

Our readers will probably, on reading and considering all the circumstances of this extraordinary event, feel the same displeasure we feel in giving the relation; as the Spaniards cannot but appear to have been the severest instruments fate ever made use of to farther the ends of Providence in the discovery and connection of the new with the old continent.

Montezuma, at length, left his palace never to return to it again. He departed, declaring to his courtiers, for certain reasons, after consultation with his gods, he was going to pass some days, of his own free will, with those strangers, commanding them to publish it through all the city. He went with all the pomp and magnificence with which he usually appeared in public, and the Spaniards kept close to him, guarding him, under pretence of doing him honour. The news this singular event immediately spread through the whole capital, and the people assembled in crowds; some were affected so as to weep, and others threw themselves upon the ground in despair. The king attempted to console them, telling them, that it was with his own pleasure, that he went to be among his friends; but being apprehensive of some disorder, he gave orders to his ministers to chace the rabble from the streets, and threatened death to any one who caused any commotion or disturbance. Having arrived at the quarters, he caressed the Spaniards, and took the apartments that pleased him most, which his domestics quickly decorated with the finest tapestry of cotton and feathers, and the best furniture of the royal palace. Cortes placed guards at the entry to those apartments, and doubled those which were usual for the security of their quarters. He intimated to all the Spaniards and all the allies, that they were to treat him and serve him with all the respect which was due to majesty, and permitted the Mexicans to visit him whenever they pleased, provided there were but few at a time; so that he wanted nothing that he had in his own palace but liberty.

SECT. VI.
Life of the
king in pri-
son.

Here Montezuma was allowed to give free audience to his vassals, heard their petitions, pronounced sentences, and governed the kingdom with the assistance of his ministers and counsellors. His domestics served him with the same diligence and punctuality as usual. A band of nobles waited upon him at table, ordered in ranks of four at

a time, carrying the dishes raised up in their hands for the sake of ostentation ; after having chose what he liked, he divided the rest among the Spaniards who assisted, and the Mexican nobles who attended him ; not content with this, his generosity made him distribute frequent and magnificent presents among the Spaniards.

Cortes, on his part, shewed so much earnestness that his people should pay him the respect which was due, that he ordered a Spaniard to be whipped for answering the king rudely, and would have made him be hanged, as some historians affirm, if the king himself had not interposed in his behalf. But if the soldier was deserving of chastisement for insulting the majesty of that king by a rude word, what punishment did he merit who had so outrageously deprived him of his liberty? Every time that Cortes went to visit him he observed the same ceremony, and paid him the same compliments which he had been used to do when he went to the royal palace. In order to amuse him in prison, he made the soldiers go through the military exercise, or made them play at games before him ; and the king himself frequently condescended to play with Cortes and the captain Alvarado, at a game which the Spaniards called *bodoque*, and shewed himself happy to lose in order to have an opportunity of exercising his liberality : once, after dinner, he lost forty pieces of unwrought gold, which, as near as we can guess, was equal to one hundred and sixty ounces at least.

Cortes perceiving his liberality, or rather prodigality, told him one day that some knavish soldiers had stolen some pieces of gold from the treasury of his deceased father Axajacatl, but that he would make them immediately restore the whole of their theft. " Provided," said the king, " they do not touch the images of the gods, nor any thing destined for their worship, they may take as much as they please." Having got this permission, the Spaniards took out soon after more than a thousand fine habits of cotton ; Cortes commanded them to be replaced, but Montezuma opposed it, saying he never took back what he had once given away. Cortes also imprisoned some soldiers, because they had taken out of the same treasure a certain quantity of liquid amber ; but, at the desire of the king, they were again set at liberty. Montezuma, not contented with yielding up his riches to the Spaniards,

BOOK IX. presented to Cortes another of his daughters, whom the general accepted, in order to marry her to Christopher Olid, camp-master to the Spanish troops. This princess, as well as the other formerly presented, were immediately instructed and baptized, without any opposition from their father.

Cortes, having no longer any doubt of the friendly disposition of the king, which had been manifested, not only by his extraordinary liberality, but also by the pleasure he took in living among the Spaniards, after some days of confinement allowed him to go out of the quarters, and exhorted him to go as often as he pleased to amuse himself with the chase, of which he was immoderately fond. That debased monarch did not refuse this miserable use of his liberty; he went frequently, sometimes to the temples to perform his devotions, sometimes to the lake to catch water-fowl, sometimes to the wood of Chapoltepec, or some other place of pleasure; always guarded, however, by a strong company of Spanish soldiers. When he went upon the lake, he was escorted by a vast number of boats, or by two brigantines, which Cortes had caused to be built as soon as he entered that capital (*r*). When he resorted to the woods, he was accompanied by two thousand Tlascalans, besides a numerous retinue of Mexicans, who always were in attendance to serve him; but he never passed a night out of the quarters.

SECT. VII.
Punishment
of the lord of
Nauhtlan,
and new in-
sults to the
king.

Upwards of fifteen days had elapsed since the imprisonment of the king, when the two messengers returned from Nauhtlan, conducting Quauhpopoca, his son, and fifteen other nobles, accomplices in the death of the governor Escalante. Quauhpopoca came richly dressed, in a litter: when he arrived at the quarters he pulled off his shoes, according to the ceremony of the palace, and covered himself with a coarse habit; he was introduced to the audience of the king, and having observed the usual forms of respect, he said, "Behold, most great and powerful prince, your servant obedient to your commands, and ready to comply in every thing with your desire." "You have conducted yourself not a little amiss on this point," returned

(*r*) In order to set forth at once the life of Montezuma while in prison, we recount here some events which happened posterior to others, which are still to be related.

the king, with disdain, "by treating those strangers, whom I have received like friends into my court, as enemies; and your temerity has been excessive, in blaming me as the author of such proceedings; you shall therefore be punished as a traitor to your sovereign." Quauhpopoca endeavoured to excuse himself, but the king would not listen to him, and made him be immediately delivered up to Cortes, with his accomplices, that, after the crime was examined into, he might punish them as he should think proper. Cortes put the necessary questions, and they openly confessed the fact, without at first blaming the king; until being threatened with the torture, and believing their punishment inevitable, they declared that what they had done was enjoined by the king, without whose orders they would not have dared to attempt any thing against the Spaniards.

Cortes, after hearing their confession, and pretending not to believe their excuse, condemned them to be burned alive before the royal palace, for being guilty of treason to the king. He repaired immediately to the king's apartment, with three or four of his officers, and a soldier who carried irons in his hands; and, without omitting even upon this occasion the usual ceremony and compliments, he said to the king, "The delinquents, prince, have now been examined, and all of them have confessed their guilt, and blame you as the author of the death of my Spaniards: I have condemned them to the punishment which they, and which you also, deserve, agreeable to their confession; but, in consideration of the many kindnesses you have rendered us hitherto, and the regard you have manifested for my sovereign and towards my nation, I am willing to grant you the favour of your life, although I cannot avoid making you feel a part of the punishment which you merit for your crime." Upon saying this, he, in an angry tone, commanded the soldier to put the irons upon his legs, and without deigning to hear a word from him, turned about and departed. The stupefaction of the king at seeing this outrage offered to his person was so great, that it left him no power of resistance, nor any words to express his affliction: he remained for some time in a state of insensibility; his domestics who attended signified their grief in silent tears; and throwing themselves at his feet, eased the weight of the

BOOK IX. irons with their hands, and endeavoured to prevent their contact with his legs by placing bandages of cotton between them. As he returned to himself, he broke out into some expressions of impatience, but he soon calmed again, attributing his miseries to the supreme dispensations of his gods.

This bold action was hardly performed, when Cortes proceeded to execute another not less presumptuous. After having given orders to the guards not to admit any Mexican to see the king, he commanded Quauhpopoca, his son, and the rest of his accomplices, to be led to punishment; they were conducted by the Spaniards themselves, all armed and formed in order of battle, to keep the people in awe in case they should be willing to oppose the execution of their sentence. But what could that small troop of men have done against the immense multitude of Mexicans who assembled to be spectators of the event? The fire was kindled before the principal palace of the king. The fuel made use of was a great quantity of bows, arrows, darts, lances, swords, and shields, which were taken from an armoury; for Cortes had demanded these of the king, that he might rid himself of the uneasiness which the sight of so many arms occasioned. Quauhpopoca, tied hand and foot and placed upon the pile where he was to be burned, again protested his innocence, and repeated that what he had done was by the express order of his king; he then made prayers to his gods, and encouraged his companions to bear their sufferings. The fire being kindled they were all in a few minutes consumed (*s*), in sight of a numerous multitude, who made no commotion because they were persuaded as is probable that this punishment was executed by order of the king; and it is to be imagined that the sentence had been published in his name.

(*s*) Solis, when he makes mention of the sentence of Cortes against Quauhpopoca, speaks thus: "Juzgose militarmente la causa, y se les dio sentencia de muerte, con la circunstancia de que fuisen quemados publicamente sus cuerpos." Wherein, without mentioning the species of punishment to which they were condemned, he makes it be understood, that the prisoners were not burned, but their dead bodies only. This is not at all consistent with the sincerity which is requisite from an historian. He studied to dissemble whatever did not conform with the panegyric of his hero; but his dissimulation is of but little consequence, while not only other historians, but even Cortes himself affirms it openly, in his letter to Charles V. See in particular Herrera, in his Decad II. book viii. chap. 9.

This conduct of Cortes is by no means to be justified, since besides arrogating to himself an authority which did not belong to him, if he believed the king had been the author of the revolutions at Vera Cruz, why condemn to death, and to so cruel a death, men who had no other guilt than that of executing punctually the orders of their sovereign? If he did not believe the king guilty, why subject him to so much ignominy, in contradiction to the respect due to his character, the gratitude which might naturally have been felt for his bounty, and the justice claimed by his innocence? It is probable, that Quauhpopoca had an express order from the king to bring the Totonacas again under obedience to his crown, and that being unable to execute that order without embroiling himself with the Spaniards, who protected the rebels, he carried things to the extremity which we have seen.

As soon as the criminals were punished, Cortes went to the apartment of the king, and saluting him with expressions of affection, and boasting the favour which he had done him in granting him his life, he made his fetters be taken off. The joy which Montezuma then felt, was proportioned to the anguish the ignominy had excited; he lost all his fears of having his life taken from him, and received this phantom of liberty as an incomparable benefit; he was so fallen in dignity and spirit, that he embraced Cortes with the utmost affection, expressed his gratitude to him in the strongest terms, and that day shewed extraordinary complaisance to the Spaniards and his own vassals. Cortes took off his guard, and told the king that whenever he pleased he might return to his palace; well assured, however, the king would not accept his offer; for he had frequently heard him say, that it would not be fitting for him to return to his palace while the Spaniards were in his court. He was unwilling to quit the quarters, on account of the dangers the Spaniards would be in whenever he abandoned them; but it is also probable, that his own personal danger likewise prevented him from resuming his liberty, for he was not ignorant how much he had offended and disgusted his vassals, by his debasement of spirit and excess of submission to the Spaniards.

It is also probable, that the punishment of Quauhpopoca excited some ferment among the nobility; for, a few days after, Cacamatzin king of Acolhuacan, unable to brook the authority which the Spaniards

SECT. VIII.
Attempts of
the king of
Acolhua-

BOOK IX.

can against
the Spaniards.

were gaining in Mexico, and ashamed to see the miserable situation of his uncle Montezuma, sent to tell him,—that he should remember that he was a king, and not to make himself the slave of those strangers: but finding that Montezuma refused to attend to his counsel, resolved himself to make war upon the Spaniards. Their ruin would have been inevitable, if the esteem of Cacamatzin with the Mexican and Tezcucan subjects had been equal to his intrepidity and resolution; but the Mexicans suspected, that under sanction of zeal for the honour of his uncle he disguised some lurking ambition and design to usurp the crown of Mexico; among his own subjects of Tezcuco he was not very popular, on account of his pride and the injury he had done his brother the prince Cuicuitatzin, who, to shun being persecuted, had taken shelter in Mexico, and was more acceptable to the people on account of his more affable disposition.

Cacamatzin therefore went to Tezcuco, and having called together his counsellors and the most respectable persons of his court, represented to them the deplorable state of Mexico, owing to the unequalled audacity of the Spaniards, and pusillanimity of the king his uncle; the authority which those strangers were acquiring, the outrages offered to the king by the imprisonment of his person as if he had been a slave, and the insult rendered to their gods by the introduction of the worship of a strange deity into that kingdom; he exaggerated the evils which might result from such beginnings to the court and kingdom of Acolhuacan: “It is time now,” he said, “to fight for our religion, for our country, for our liberty, and for our honour, before the power of those men is increased by reinforcements from their own country or new alliances in this.” At last he enjoined them all to speak their opinions freely. The majority of his counsellors declared for war, either in complaisance to their king or because they were all of the same opinion, but some aged respectable persons told the king plainly, that he should not suffer himself to be led away by the ardour of youth; that before any resolution was taken it ought to be remembered, that the Spaniards were warlike resolute men, and fought with arms superior to their’s; that he should not consider the relation between himself and Montezuma so much as the alliance of the latter with the Spaniards; that a friendship of that

nature, of which there were the clearest and most certain proofs, would make him sacrifice all the interests of his family and his country to the ambition of those strangers.

In spite of those representations war was resolved upon, and immediately they began to make preparations for it with the utmost secrecy; but still not sufficient to prevent the intelligence of it from reaching Montezuma and Cortes: this general became extremely uneasy at it, but reflecting that all his daring designs had succeeded, he resolved to ward off the blow, by marching with his troops to make an assault upon Tezcuco. Montezuma dissuaded him from so dangerous a step, informing him of the strength of that capital and the immense number of its inhabitants. Cortes determined, therefore, to send an embassy to that king, calling to his recollection the friendship formerly agreed upon between them in Ajotzinco when he came to meet him in the name of his uncle, and also to tell him to reflect that it was not easier to undertake war than difficult to succeed in it, and that it would turn out to better account for him to keep up a good correspondence with the king of Castile and the Spanish nation. Cacamatzin answered, that he could not regard men as friends who injured his honour, wronged his blood, disdained his religion, and oppressed his country; that he did not know who the king of Castile was, nor was it of any importance for him to know it; that if they would escape the storm which was now ready to pour upon them they should immediately quit Mexico, and return to their native country.

Notwithstanding this firm answer, Cortes repeated his embassy; but being again answered in the same tone, he complained to Montezuma; and, in order to engage him in the affair, he feigned to suspect even him of having some influence in the hostile designs of his nephew. Montezuma cleared himself from suspicion by the most sincere protestations, and offered to interpose his authority. He sent to tell Cacamatzin to come to Mexico to visit him, and that he would find means to accommodate the difference. Cacamatzin, amazed at seeing Montezuma more interested in favour of those who destroyed his liberty, than of his own relation who was zealous to restore it to him, answered, that if after such infamous treatment he had a spark

BOOK IX. of honour left, he would be ashamed of seeing himself made the slave of four ruffians, who, while they cajoled with fair words, heaped acts of affront upon him; that since, neither zeal for the Mexican religion and the gods of the Acolhuans, whom those strangers had blasphemously insulted, nor the glory of his ancestors, obscured and debased by his own pusillanimity, could move him, he himself was disposed to aid his religion—to vindicate his gods—to preserve the kingdom, and recover the honour and liberty of him and every Mexican subject; that he would indeed see him at Mexico, not however with his hands in his bosom, but wielding his sword, to wipe off and cancel with the blood of the Spaniards the disgrace which stained the nation.

SECT. IX.
Exaltation of
the prince
Cuicuitzcat-
zin.

Montezuma was extremely alarmed by this answer, fearing that, either from the revenge of the Spaniards, or the fury of king Cacamatzin, he would become the victim of the approaching storm; upon which account he resolved to adopt the last resource to prevent it, and save his own life by treachery. He therefore gave secret orders to some Mexican officers, who served in the guard of his nephew the king of Acolhuacan, to exert their utmost efforts, and without delay, to seize his person, and conduct him with the greatest care to Mexico, because it was of importance to the nation at large. He suggested to them the manner of doing it, and probably also made them some gift, and promised them some reward to encourage them in the undertaking. They again solicited other officers and domestics of the king Cacamatzin, whom they knew to be disposed to such a faction, and by the assistance of the last, they obtained all that Montezuma desired. Among other palaces of the king of Acolhuacan, there was one built upon the edge of the lake, in such a manner, that by a canal, which ran under it, vessels could come out or go in to it. There, as Cacamatzin was then residing at this palace, they placed a number of vessels with armed men, and in the darkness of the night, which favours all conspiracies, they suddenly seized upon the king, and, before any persons could come to his assistance, put him into a vessel and conveyed him with the utmost expedition to Mexico. Montezuma, without paying any respect to the character of sovereign, nor his relation with Cacamatzin, delivered him up immediately to Cortes. This general, by what appears from his conduct, had not the least idea of the respect which

is due to majesty even in the person of a barbarian, put him in irons, and confined him under a strong guard. The reflections to be made on this, and other extraordinary events in this history, are too obvious to require any interruption of the course of our relation with them. BOOK IX.

Cacamatzin, who began his unhappy reign with the dissension of his brother Ixtlilxochitl, and the dismemberment of the state, concluded it with the loss of his crown, his liberty, and his life. Montezuma determined, with the consent of Cortes, that the crown of Acolhuacan should be given to the prince Cuicuitzcatzin, who had been entertained by Montezuma in his palace from the time that, in order to avoid the persecutions of his brother Cacamatzin, he had taken refuge in Mexico, and put himself under his protection. This election did great wrong to the princes Coanacotzin and Ixtlilxochitl, who, by having been born of the queen Xocotzin, had a better right to the crown. The motive does not appear which made Montezuma refuse Coanacotzin, although with respect to Ixtlilxochitl it is certain that he was afraid of increasing the power of so troublesome an enemy. However it was, Montezuma made Cuicuitzcatzin be acknowledged king by the nobles of Tezcuco, and accompanied him, along with Cortes, to the vessel in which he was to cross the lake, and recommended to him the constant friendship of the Mexicans and the Spaniards, as he was indebted to them both for his crown.

Cuicuitzcatzin repaired to Tezcuco, accompanied by many nobles of each court, and was received there with acclamations, triumphal arches, and dances, the nobility transporting him in a litter from the vessel to the royal palace, where the eldest noble made him a long discourse in the name of the whole nation, congratulating him and exhorting him to love all his vassals, and promising to treat him as a father, and to revere him as their sovereign. It is impossible to express the grief which this event occasioned to Cacamatzin, who found himself, in the flower of youth, being still no more than twenty-five years of age, deprived of the crown which three years before he had inherited from his father, and reduced to the confinement and solitude of a prison by the very king whom he had purposed to make free, and those strangers whom he had designed to drive out of the kingdom.

BOOK IX.

Cortes had now got into his power the two most potent kings of Anahuac, and it was not long before he took also the king of Tlacopan, the lords of Iztapalapan and Cojohuacan, both brothers of Montezuma, two sons of this same king, Itzquauhtzin lord of Tlatelolco, a high-priest of Mexico, and several more of the most respectable personages into custody, although we do not know the particulars of their imprisonment; but it is probable that he proceeded to take them one after another, as they came to visit Montezuma.

SECT. N.
Submission
of Montezu-
ma and the
Mexican no-
bility to the
crown of
Spain.

The general, encouraged by his various successes, and seeing the king of Mexico totally devoted to his will, told him it was now time for his subjects to acknowledge the king of Spain their lawful sovereign, who was descended from the king and god Quetzalcoatl. Montezuma, who had not courage to contradict him, assembled the principal nobility of the court and the neighbouring cities; they came all readily to receive his orders, and being met in a large hall of the Spanish quarters, the king made them a long discourse, in which he declared the affection he bore them as a father, from whom consequently they ought not to fear that he would propose any thing to them which was not just and advantageous: he called to their memory the ancient tradition concerning the devolution of the Mexican empire on the descendants of Quetzalcoatl, whose viceroys he and his ancestors had been, and the phenomena observed in the elements, which, according to the interpretation of the priests and divines, signified that the time was now arrived when the oracles were to be fulfilled: he then proceeded to compare the marks observed in the Spaniards with those of the tradition, from whence he concluded that the king of Spain was evidently the lawful descendant of Quetzalcoatl, to whom therefore he yielded up the kingdom and owned obedience, and exhorted them all to do the same(s). In pronouncing himself the subject of another king he

(s) The circumstances of the above-mentioned assembly, of the homage rendered to the king of Spain, and of the order intimated from Montezuma to Cortes to depart from the court, is related by historians with such variety, that no two of them are found to agree. In the narration of these events we chiefly follow the accounts of Cortes and Bernal Diaz, who were both eye-witnesses. Solis affirms, that the acknowledgment made by Montezuma was a mean artifice, *that he never had any intention to fulfil what he promised, that his aim*

felt his spirit so wounded, that his voice failed him and tears were substituted for words. The sorrows of the king were succeeded by such bitter sobs from the whole assembly, that they affected and drew the pity of the Spaniards. To these emotions a melancholy silence succeeded, which was at length broken by one of the most respectable Mexican chiefs, with these words: "Since the time, O prince, is arrived when those ancient oracles are to be fulfilled, and the gods incline and you command that we become the subjects of another lord, what else have we to do but to submit to the sovereign will of heaven intimated to us from your mouth."

Cortes then thanked the king and all the lords who were present for their ready and sincere submission, and declared that his sovereign did not presume to take the crown from the king of Mexico, but only to make his supreme dominion over that kingdom be acknowledged, that Montezuma would not only continue to govern his subjects, but would also exercise the same authority over all those people who should submit themselves to the Spaniards. Having dismissed the assembly, Cortes ordered a public memorial of that act to be made with all the solemnity which he thought necessary, in order to send it to the court of Spain.

Having thus happily accomplished his purpose, he represented to Montezuma, that since he had acknowledged the dominion of the king of Castile over those countries, it was necessary to manifest his submission by the contribution of some gold and silver, in consequence of the right which sovereigns had to exact such homage from their vassals, in order to support the splendor of the crown, to maintain their ministers, the expences of war, and the other necessities of the state. Montezuma, with truly royal munificence, gave him up the treasure

SECT. XI.
First homage
of the Mex-
icans to the
crown of
Spain.

was to hasten the departure of the Spaniards, and to temporize for the secret purposes of his ambition, without any regard for his words or engagement; but if the act of Montezuma was a mere artifice, and he did not mean to effect what he promised, why in owning himself the vassal of another monarch did he feel so much anguish, that it cut his voice short and drew tears from his eyes, as this author himself says. If he only meant to hasten the departure of the Spaniards, there was no occasion for such a feint. How often, with a single beck to his vassals, could he have sacrificed the Spaniards to his gods, or sparing their lives, have made them be bound and conducted to the port, that thence they might resume their course to Cuba? The whole of Montezuma's conduct was entirely inconsistent with the intentions which Solis ascribes to him.

BOOK IX. of his father Axajacatl, which was preserved, as we have already said, in the same palace, from which nothing had been taken by Cortes hitherto, although it had been expressly permitted him by the king to take whatever he pleased. The whole of this treasure fell into the hands of the Spaniards, together with all that had been contributed by the feudatory lords of that crown, which amounted to so much, that, after deducting a fifth part for the king of Spain, Cortes had as much as was necessary to pay all his debts, contracted in Cuba in raising his corps and equipping the armament, and to reward his officers and soldiers, leaving still behind enough for future expences. For the king they appropriated, besides a fifth part of the gold and silver, some particular pieces of work preserved entire on account of their wonderful workmanship, which, according to the valuation made of them by Cortes, were worth more than one hundred thousand ducats; but the greater part of this wealth was lost, as we shall find hereafter.

SECT. XII.
Discontent
of the Mex-
ican nobles,
and new fears
of Montezu-
ma.

The Spaniards exulted to see themselves the masters of so much wealth at so small a cost; and a kingdom so great and opulent, subjected to their sovereign with so little trouble; but their prosperity was now at its height, and, according to the condition of human affairs, it was necessary that their successes should be chequered with adversities. The Mexican nobility, who had hitherto preserved a respectful silence in deference to the will of their sovereign, seeing him thus fallen and degraded, the king of Acolhuacan and other persons of rank put in chains, and the nation subjected to the dominion of a strange monarch whom they knew not, began first to whisper, then to speak out with more freedom, to blame their own patience, to hold assemblies, and at last, as is reported, to levy troops to free their king and their nation from such ignominious oppression. Montezuma was spoken to by some of his favourites, who represented to him the pain his misfortunes and disgrace gave his vassals, who considered his power to be almost expiring, and the splendour of his dignity obscured, and the ferment which began to rise, not only among the nobles, but also among the common people, who were grown impatient of seeing themselves subjected and condemned to sacrifice to a strange king the harvest of their labours: they exhorted him to dispel the fears which had taken possession of him, and

to resume his wonted authority ; since, if he would not do it, his vassals would, as they were determined to drive those insolent and destructive guests from the kingdom. On the other hand, the priests exaggerated the injuries which religion suffered, and intimidated him with the threats which, they said, the gods in anger had made, to deny the necessary rain to the fields, and their protection to the Mexicans, if he did not dismiss those men who were so disdainful of their worship.

Montezuma moved by those representations of his favourites, and menaces of his gods, ashamed of being reproached for his cowardice, and affected by the disgrace of his nephew Cacamatzin, whom he had always loved with particular tenderness, and the dishonour which had befallen his brother Cuitlahuatzin, and other persons of the first nobility, although he did not consent to the design of taking away the lives of the Spaniards, to which some advised him, resolved, however, to tell them openly, that they must depart from that kingdom. He one day, therefore, sent for Cortes, who being apprised of the secret conferences which the king had had with his ministers, his nobles, and priests, felt many apprehensions ; but dissembling his uneasiness of mind, he repaired immediately to the king accompanied by twelve Spaniards. Montezuma received him with less cordiality than usual, and freely laid open his resolution. “ You cannot,” he said, “ doubt of the great attachment I bear you, after so many and clear demonstrations of it. Hitherto I have willingly entertained you in my court, have even been so desirous of the pleasure of your company and conversation, as to remain here and live amongst you. As for my own part, I would retain you here without any change, daily making you experience some fresh proofs of my good will towards you ; but it cannot be done ; neither will my gods permit it, nor will my subjects endure it. I find I am threatened with the heaviest punishments of heaven if I let you remain any longer in my kingdom ; and such discontent already prevails among my vassals, that unless I quickly remove the cause, it will be altogether impossible to pacify them. Wherefore it is become necessary for my own, as well as yours, and the good of all the kingdom, that you prepare yourselves to return to your native country.” Cortes, although extremely mortified and distressed, dissembled yet his feelings, and assumed great serenity of

BOOK IX. countenance, answered, that he was extremely ready to obey him; but as they wanted vessels to transport them, on account of those which they had come in from Cuba having become useless, they required time, workmen, and materials, to make others. Montezuma, full of joy at the readiness with which he was obeyed, embraced him, and told him, that it was not necessary to precipitate his departure; that he might build his vessels; that he would supply him with the necessary timber, and people to cut it, and transport it to the harbour. Immediately he gave orders to a number of carpenters to cut the necessary timber from a grove of pines, which was at a small distance from the port of Chiauiztlan, and Cortes, on his part, sent some Spaniards there to superintend the woodcutters, expecting, in the mean time, that something would change the state of affairs in Mexico, or that some new reinforcement of Spaniards would be sent to him from the islands or from Spain (*t*).

Eight days after this resolution had been taken, Montezuma sent for Cortes a second time, and this general was again rendered uneasy. The king told him, that it was no longer necessary to build vessels, for that a short time ago eighteen vessels, similar to those which had been destroyed, had arrived at the port of Chalchiuhecuan, in which he might embark with all his troops; that he should therefore hasten his departure, as it was of importance to the welfare of the kingdom. Cortes dissembled the joy which he received from such intelligence, and offering secret thanks to heaven for having sent him such timely assistance; he answered the king, that if that fleet was making its voyage towards Cuba, he was ready to depart, but that otherwise it would be requisite to continue the building of his vessels. He saw and examined the paintings which had been sent to the king of this new armament by the governors upon the coast, and he did not doubt that it was Spanish; but very far from imagining that it was sent against him, he persuaded himself that it was his commissioners whom he had sent home the year before to the court of Spain, who were re-

(*t*) Almost all the Spanish historians say, that when the king made Cortes be called to intimate to him the order to depart, he had levied an army to make him be obeyed by force if necessary; but there is a great difference of opinion among them, as some affirm that there were an hundred thousand men in arms; others say, only half that number; and others lastly say only five thousand. We are persuaded that some troops were in readiness, but not by the order of the king, but of some of the nobles, who had taken a more active part in this matter.

turned, and brought with them the royal dispatches, and a large number of troops for the conquest. BOOK IX.

This pleasing consolation lasted until the letters of Gonzalez de Sandoval, governor of the colony of Vera Cruz arrived, which acquainted him that that armament, consisting of eleven ships, and seven brigantines, of eighty-five horses, eight hundred infantry, and upwards of five hundred seamen, with twelve pieces of artillery, and plenty of warlike ammunition under the command of Panfilo Narvaez, was sent by Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba, against Cortes himself, as a rebel, vassal, and traitor to his sovereign. He received this unexpected blow in the presence of the king Montezuma, but, without shewing the smallest marks of emotion in his countenance, he gave the king to understand, that those who had arrived at the port of Chalchiuhcuecan were new companions sent him from Cuba. He made use of the same dissimulation to his own Spaniards, until their minds were prepared for the truth.

SECT. XIII.
Armament of
the governor
of Cuba a-
gainst Cortes.

It is beyond a doubt, that this was one of those singular occasions on which Cortes displayed his unshaken fortitude and magnanimity. He found himself on the one hand threatened by all the power of the Mexicans if he remained at the court; and on the other, he saw an army levied against himself, composed of his own countrymen, far superior to his own force; but his sagacity, his unremitting activity and industry, and wonderful courage, diverted all the evils which hung over him. He endeavoured, by means of letters, and some mediators in whom he chiefly trusted, to gain the mind of Narvaez, and to bring him to reflection; proposing various measures to him, and representing to him the advantages which the Spaniards would derive from the union of their armies and the co-operation of their forces; and, on the contrary, the disasters which might be occasioned by discord to them both: Narvaez, by the advice of three deserters from Cortes, had already disembarked with all his fleet upon the coast of Chenipoalla, and put himself in quarters in that city; the lord of which, knowing them to be Spaniards, and believing that they came to unite with Cortes his friend, or fearful of their power, received them with the greatest honour, and provided them every thing they wanted. Montezuma also believing the same thing in the beginning, sent rich presents to Narvaez, and gave orders to his governors to offer him the same civilities which they had already shewn to Cortes;

BOOK IX. but in a few days after, in spite of the great dissimulation of Cortes, and although he used every effort to hinder such intelligence from reaching the king or his vassals, the want of harmony between them was discerned.

Montezuma had now the fairest opportunity to destroy them both, if he had harboured in his breast those bloody designs which several historians have imputed to him. Narvaez endeavoured to alienate him from Cortes, and those of his party, accusing them all of treason, and promising to punish their unheard-of audacity in imprisoning so great a king, and to free not only the king himself, but the whole nation from their oppression; but Montezuma was so far from plotting any thing against Cortes from these suggestions, that, on the contrary, when this general made him acquainted with the expedition he intended against Narvaez, Montezuma expressed great uneasiness at the danger to which he exposed himself with troops so inferior in number, and offered to raise immediately a great army to his assistance.

Cortes had now used every possible means to bring about a peaceable accommodation, which would unquestionably have been advantageous for both armies, but without any other effect than that of producing fresh menaces and disdain from the fierce and arrogant Narvaez. Finding himself therefore compelled to make war upon his countrymen, and not willing, on account of his diffidence and distrust of the Mexicans to avail himself of the assistance which Montezuma offered, he requested the senate of Tlascala to raise four thousand warriors to go along with him, and sent one of his soldiers, named Tobilla, a man well skilled in the art of war, to Chinantla, to demand two thousand men from that warlike nation; and also to procure three hundred pikes of the kind made use of by these Indians for the purpose of resisting the cavalry of Narvaez, as they were both longer and stronger than those of the Spaniards. He left in Mexico one hundred and forty soldiers (*u*), with all their allies, under the command of Pedro d'Alvarado, recommending it to them to guard and treat the king well, and to

(*u*) Bernal Diaz says, that the Spaniards left behind in Mexico were eighty-three in number. In the modern editions of Cortes's letters, they are said to have been five hundred; but the ancient editions say one hundred and forty, which appears to have been the truth, considering the total amount of the Spanish troops. The number of five hundred is evidently false, and contradicts Cortes in his own account.

maintain harmony between them and the Mexicans, particularly the royal family and the nobility. Upon taking leave of the king, he told him, that he left in his place the captain *Tonathuh* (as Alvarado was called by this name of the sun among the Mexicans, because he was fair), who was charged to serve his majesty in every thing; that he requested him to continue his protection to the Spaniards; that he was going to find that captain who was lately arrived, and to do every thing possible for putting his royal commands into execution. Montezuma, after having made new protestations to him of his good-will and attachment, furnished him plentifully with provisions and men of burthen to transport his baggage, and took leave of him with the utmost friendship.

Cortes set out from Mexico in the beginning of May, in the year 1520, after having been six months in that capital, with seventy Spaniards, and some Mexican nobles, who chose to accompany him a part of the way. Several historians are persuaded that the Mexicans went to become spies, and to give the king an account of every thing which happened; but Cortes did not consider them as such, although neither did he place much confidence in them. He made his journey through Cholula, where he was joined by the captain Velasquez, who was returned from Coatzacoalco, having been sent there by Cortes to search for a more commodious harbour for the ships. There Cortes also received a considerable supply of provisions, which were sent him by the senate of Tlascala; but he had not the four thousand men he demanded; either because they durst not enter into new wars against the Spaniards, as Bernal Diaz affirms, or because they were unwilling to remove themselves so far from their native country, as is reported by other historians; or from seeing Cortes with forces so inferior in number to those of his enemy, they dreaded another defeat in the expedition. Some days before he arrived at Chempoalla, Cortes was joined by the soldier Tobilla, with three hundred pikes from Chinantla, and in Tapanacuetla, a village about thirty miles distant from that city, he was joined by the famous captain Sandoval, with sixty soldiers from the garrison of Vera Cruz.

At length, after having made new proposals to Narvaez, and having distributed some gold among the partizans of this arrogant general,

SECT. XIV.
Victory of
Cortes over
Narvaez.

BOOK IX. Cortes entered into Chempoalla at midnight with two hundred and fifty (x) men, without horses, or any other arms than pikes, swords, shields and daggers, and marching without the smallest noise or rumour to the greater temple of that city, where his enemy were quartered, he made so furious an assault, that, before break of day, he rendered himself master of the temple, of all his enemies, the artillery, arms, and horses, only four of his soldiers being killed, and fifteen of the enemy, though many on both sides were wounded (y). He made himself be acknowledged captain-general and supreme magistrate by them all, put Narvaez and Salvatierra, a respectable officer, and sworn enemy of Cortes, both in irons in the fort of Vera Cruz, and made the sails, rudders, and compasses of the ships, be brought on shore. The light of the morning of that day, which was Whitsuntide, the 27th of May, had hardly appeared, when the two thousand troops from Chinantla arrived in good order, and well armed (z), but they came only to be witnesses of the triumph of Cortes, and the shame of the party under Narvaez, to see themselves conquered by so few enemies, who were less armed than they. The success of this attack was in a great measure owing to the unparalleled bravery of Sandoval, who, with eighty men, mounted into the temple in the midst of a storm of arrows and balls, attacked the sanctuary where Narvaez was fortified, and seized his person.

Cortes now finding himself master of eighteen vessels, and almost two thousand men of Spanish troops, with nearly a hundred horses, and great sufficiency of ammunition, thought of making new expeditions on the coast of the Mexican gulf, and had already appointed the commanders who were to head them, and the people who were to be under their orders, when unlucky news arrived from Mexico, which obliged him to repair in haste to that capital.

(x) Bernal Diaz says, that Cortes went to Chempoalla with two hundred and six men; Torquemada makes two hundred and sixty six, besides five captains; but Cortes, who knew better than them, affirms, they were two hundred and fifty.

(y) Authors are not agreed as to the number killed in that assault, we put the number which appears the most probable, according to the account of the different authors.

(z) Some authors say, that the *Chinantlans* were present at the assault made on the quarters of Narvaez; but Bernal Diaz, who was present, affirms the contrary. Cortes does not make mention of them.

During the time Cortes was absent from Mexico, the festival of the incensing of Huitzilopochtli happened, which was held in the month *Toxcatl*, which that year began on the 13th of May. This festival, the most solemn of all which yearly occurred, was usually celebrated with dances by the king, the nobles, the priests, and the people. The nobility requested captain Alvarado to consent that the king might go to the temple on this occasion to perform his devotion. Alvarado excused himself from granting the request, on account of the orders given him by Cortes, or because he suspected the Mexicans would meditate some revolution when they had the king with them, well knowing how easily public rejoicings are changed into tumults and disorder. They adopted the design, therefore, of making that religious dance in the court of the palace (*a*), or quarters of the Spaniards, either by the direction of that captain, or by the order of the king himself, that he might be present according to custom. When the day of the festival arrived, many men of the first nobility assembled in the court, (the number (*b*) of whom is not known) adorned with various ornaments of gold, gems, and feathers. They began to dance and to sing to the sound of musical instruments; and in the mean while, Alvarado stationed some soldiers at the gate. When he saw the Mexicans become heated, and possibly also weary with dancing, he gave a signal to his men to attack them; they immediately charged with the utmost fury upon those unfortunate victims, who were unable to make any resistance, as they were unarmed and fatigued, nor was it possible for them to escape by flight, as the gates were guarded. The slaughter was terrible, and the cries pitious which the dying uttered, and the copious blood which was shed. This fatal blow was most sensibly felt by the Mexicans, for they lost by it the flower of their nobility; and, to

BOOK IX.

SECT. XV.

Massacre of
the Mexican
nobility, and
insurrection
of the people.

(*a*) The historians of the conquest say in general, that the dance was made in the lower area of the greater temple, but it is not probable, that the immense crowd of people which must have assembled there, would have permitted so horrid a slaughter to have been made of the nobility, especially, as the armories were there from whence they could have taken out as many arms as they required to oppose the attempt of those few strangers; nor is it credible, that the Spaniards would run such an evident risk of their own destruction. Cortes and Bernal Diaz make no mention of the place of the dance. Acosta says, that it was made in the palace, nor could it have been in any other than that which the king was then inhabiting.

(*b*) By Gomara, the nobles who were present at the dance are reckoned six hundred, by other historians more than a thousand, and by Las Casas more than two thousand.

perpetuate the memory of it among their descendants, they composed dirges and elegies on the subject, which they preserved for many years after the conquest. When the horrid tragedy was ended, the Spaniards stripped the dead bodies of all the riches with which they were adorned.

The motive is not known which induced Alvarado to commit an action so abominably inhuman. Some have said he was influenced alone by his insatiable thirst for gold (*c*). Others affirm, and which is more probable, that it having been whispered that the Mexicans designed at this festival to strike a decisive stroke on the Spaniards, to deliver themselves from oppression, and set their lord and king again at liberty whom the Spaniards had imprisoned, he prevented them, thinking, according to the vulgar adage, he who attacks, conquers. However the case was, his conduct cannot be defended neither from the charge of imprudence nor cruelty (*d*).

The common people were irritated by a blow which touched them so deeply, and treated the Spaniards ever after as the mortal enemies of their country. Some Mexican troops assaulted their quarters with such impetuosity, that they broke down a part of the wall, undermined the palace in different places, and burned their ammunition, but they were repelled by the fire of the artillery and musketry, by which the Spaniards had an opportunity of repairing the wall. That night the Spaniards reposed purely from the fatigues of the day, but the day after the assault was so furious, that they thought they must have perished, and certainly not one of them would have remained alive, five or six

(*c*) The Mexican historians, Sahagun, in his history, Las Casas, in his formidable account of the destruction of the Indies, and Gomara, in his Chronicle, affirm, that the avarice of Alvarado was the cause of the slaughter committed on the Mexican nobility; but we cannot believe it without stronger proofs. Gomara and Las Casas have unquestionably followed Sahagun in this opinion, and he must have received it from the Mexicans, who, being the enemies of the Spaniards, are not to be trusted in this matter.

(*d*) It is altogether incredible that the Mexicans should upon occasion of the dance, have plotted against the Spaniards, that treason which some historians have supposed, and still more that they had actually prepared the vessels in which they were to boil the flesh of the Spaniards, as Torquemada says. These are fables invented to justify Alvarado. What appears the most probable solution of this event is, that the Tlascalans out of the great hatred which they bore to the Mexicans, inspired Alvarado with suspicions of this pretended treachery. The history of the conquest furnishes us with many examples of such kind of artful designing conduct in the Tlascalans.

of them being already killed, had not the king shewn himself to the croud of assaulters, and by his authority restrained their fury. Respect to the presence of their sovereign checked the multitude from continuing the attack upon the Spanish quarters; but it did not make them desist from other hostilities; they burned the four brigantines which Cortes had ordered to be built, in order to save himself in them provided he could not at any time make his escape by the roads made upon the lake, and resolved to destroy the Spaniards by famine, denying them provisions, and contriving to hinder the introduction of any to them, by drawing a ditch all round their quarters.

In this situation the Spaniards found themselves in Mexico, when Alvarado sent advice to Cortes, requesting him by two different messages, carried by the Tlascalans, to hasten his return, unless he chose to let them all perish. The same thing was desired by Montezuma, who acquainted him how distressed he was at the insurrection of his vassals, which, however, had been occasioned by the rash and bloody attempt of the captain Tonatiuh.

Cortes after having given orders to transplant the colony of Vera Cruz to a more convenient situation, near the port of Chalchuihcuecan (although this was not then executed), marched with his people by long journeys towards the capital. In Tlascala, he was magnificently lodged in the palace of the prince Maxixcatzin. There he made a review of his troops, and found them consist of ninety-six horses, and thirteen hundred Spanish infantry, to which two thousand Tlascalans were added by the republic. With this army he marched into Mexico on the 24th of June. He met with no opposition to his entry, but very soon he was sensible of a ferment among the people, not only from seeing few or none of them in the streets, but also by their having raised some bridges from the canals. When he entered into the quarters with the rejoicing which is easy to be imagined on both sides, Montezuma came to meet him in the court with the most obsequious demonstrations of friendship; but Cortes, either grown insolent from the victory obtained over Narvaez, the number of people under his command, or being persuaded that it was necessary to affect to believe the king blameable for the disturbance made by his vassals,

BOOK IX. passed along without paying any attention towards him. The king, pierced to the heart at seeing himself so disdainfully treated, retired to his apartment, where his affliction was still increased by the information brought by his servants that the Spanish general had expressed himself in words most injurious to his majesty (e).

Cortes reprimanded the captain Alvarado with great severity, and would certainly have inflicted upon him the punishment he deserved, if the circumstances of the time and the person had permitted. He foresaw the great storm which was now to pour upon them, and he thought it would have been imprudent to have created himself an enemy, upon an occasion of so much danger, of one of the bravest captains he had in his army.

With the new troops which Cortes brought to Mexico, he had an army of nine thousand men, but there not being accommodation for them all in the quarters, they occupied some of those buildings which were within the enclosure of the greater temple, and the nearest to the quarters. From their multitude also the scarcity of provisions, already occasioned by the want of a market, was augmented, for the Mexicans, in hatred to the Spaniards, would no longer hold any. Cortes therefore sent to tell Montezuma, with strong threats, that he should give orders for a market to be held, that they might provide themselves with every thing necessary. Montezuma answered, that the persons of the greatest authority to whom he could trust the execution of such an order, were all, as he was, in prison; that some of them must be set at liberty, that his wish might be accomplished. Cortes let the prince Cuitlahuatzin, the brother of Montezuma, out of confinement, not

(e) The historian Solis is not disposed to believe that this mark of contempt was shewn by Cortes to Montezuma; and in order to vindicate that general, he wrongs B. Diaz, who affirms it, as having been an eye-witness; and Herrera, who relates it on the support of good documents. He undeservedly accuses B. Diaz of partiality against Cortes; and of Herrera he says, that it is to be suspected that he chose to adopt the account of B. Diaz, for the purpose of making use of a sentence of Tacitus; *ambition*, he adds, *dangerous to historians*, but to none more than Solis himself; for every impartial and well-informed person in the history of Mexico will perceive, in reading the works of Solis, that this author, instead of adjusting the sentences to the relation, on the contrary, adjusts the relation to the sentences. Lastly, as he adduces no better reasons than those offered by B. Diaz, we ought to give more credit to the latter as an eye-witness of the fact.

foreseeing that the liberty of that prince would be the cause of ruin to the Spaniards. Cuitlahuatzin never returned to the quarters, nor re-established the market, either because he would not favour the Spaniards, or because the Mexicans would not consent to it, but compelled him to exercise his post of general. In fact, it was he, who from that time commanded the troops, and directed all the hostilities against the Spaniards, until at last, by the death of his brother, he was elected king of Mexico.

On the day on which Cortes entered into Mexico, there was no movement made by the people; but the day after they began to sling and shoot so many stones at the Spaniards, that they appeared, as Cortes says, like a tempest; and so many arrows, that they covered the pavement of the court and the terraces of the palace; and the number of the assaulters was so great, that they covered all the ground of the streets. Cortes did not think it proper to stand wholly upon his defence, lest that should be ascribed to cowardice, and inspire the enemy with more courage. He made a sally out upon them with four hundred men, part Spaniards and part Tlascalans. The Mexicans retired with little loss, and Cortes, after having made fire be set to some of the houses, returned to his quarters; but finding that the enemy continued their hostilities, he made the captain Ordaz go out with two hundred soldiers against them. The Mexicans affected to be put in confusion, and to fly, in order to draw the enemy to a distance from their quarters, in which they succeeded; for suddenly the Spaniards found themselves surrounded by the Mexicans on all sides, and attacked by a body of troops in front and another behind, but in such a tumultuous manner, that their disorder impeded their action. At the same time appeared a numerous rabble on the tops of the houses, who kept up a constant shower of arrows and stones. The Spaniards found themselves now in imminent danger, and this occasion was certainly one of those on which the brave Ordaz displayed his skill and courage. The contest was most bloody, but with no great loss to the Spaniards, who, with their guns and cross-bows cleared the terraces, and with their pikes and swords repelled the multitude which deluged the streets, and at last were able to retire to their quarters, leaving many Mexicans, though not more than eight of their own people, killed; but they

BOOK IX.

SECT. XVI.
Action between the
Mexicans
and the Spaniards in the
capital.

BOOK IX. were almost all wounded, and even Ordaz himself. Amongst the distresses suffered by the Spaniards from the Mexicans that day, the setting fire to different parts of the quarters was one, and the fire was so violent in some places, that the Spaniards was obliged to throw down the wall, and defend the breach with the artillery, and a number of soldiers whom they stationed there, till night, when the enemy gave them opportunity to rebuild the wall and take care of the wounded.

The following day, the 26th of June, the assault was more terrible, and the fury of the Mexicans still greater. The Spaniards defended themselves with twelve pieces of artillery, which committed uncommon havock upon their enemy; but as the number of them was infinite, they covered the sight of the dead with fresh substitutes in their place. Cortes perceiving their obstinacy, sallied out with the greater part of his troops, and proceeded fighting his way through one of the principal streets of the city, took possession of some of the bridges, set fire to some houses, and, after continuing in action almost the whole day, he returned to the quarters with more than fifty Spaniards wounded, leaving innumerable Mexicans dead in the streets.

Experience had made Cortes sensible, that the greatest annoyance his troops met with was from the terraces of the houses: to shun which in future, he ordered three machines of war to be constructed, called by the Spaniards *Mantas*, so large that each of them would carry twenty armed soldiers, covered with a strong roof to defend them from the stones thrown from the terraces, furnished with wheels also to make them easy to move, and little windows or port-holes for the discharge of their guns.

While those machines were constructing, great changes took place at court. Montezuma having ascended one of the towers of the palace, observed from it one of the above mentioned engagements, and amongst the multitude his brother Cuitlahuatzin, commanding the Mexican troops. At the sight of so many objects of misfortune, his mind was seized with a croud of melancholy thoughts. On the one hand, he saw the danger he was in of losing both his crown and his life; and on the other, the destruction of the buildings of his capital, the slaughter of his vassals, and the success of his enemies; and found there was no other remedy to all those evils but the immediate depar-

ture of the Spaniards. In these meditations he passed the night, and the day following he sent early for Cortes, and spoke to him on the subject, praying him earnestly not to defer any longer his removal from that city. Cortes required no such intreaty to resolve upon his retreat from it. He found provisions were scanty in extreme; food was given to the soldiers by measure, and that so little, it was sufficient only to support life, not the strength necessary to oppose such enemies as incessantly harassed them. In short, he saw it was impossible to render himself master of that city as he intended, nor could he even subsist there. But, on the other hand, he felt no small regret to abandon the undertaking he had begun, losing in one moment, by his departure, all the advantages which his courage, his industry, and his good fortune had gained him; but submitting to the circumstances of his situation, he answered the king, that he was ready to depart for the peace of the kingdom, provided his subjects would lay down their arms.

This conference was hardly ended, when "To arms" was cried through the quarters, on account of a general assault of the Mexicans. On every side they attempted to mount the walls, on purpose to enter while some troops of archers, conveniently posted, shot an immense multitude of arrows, to check the opposition made by the besieged, while some of the besiegers pushed so strenuously forward, that, in spite of the artillery and muskets, they got within the quarters, and began to fight man to man with the Spaniards, who, thinking themselves now almost vanquished and overpowered by the multitude, fought with desperation. Montezuma, observing this moment of the conflict, and his own immediate danger, resolved to let himself be seen, in order to restrain by his presence and his voice the fury of his subjects. Having for this purpose put on the royal ensigns, and attended by some of his ministers and two hundred Spaniards, he mounted on a terrace and shewed himself to the people, his ministers making a signal for silence, that they might hear the voice of their sovereign. At the sight of the king the assault ceased, all were mute, and some in reverence kneeled down. He spoke in an audible voice, and addressed them to the following effect: "If the motive which induces you to take arms against those strangers is your zeal for my liberty, I thank you for the love and fidelity you shew me; but you

SECT. XVI.
The king's
address to
the people.

BOOK IX. “ deceive yourselves in thinking me a prisoner, for it is in my own
 “ option to leave this palace of my late father, and return to my own,
 “ whenever I chuse it. If your resentment is caused by their stay in
 “ this court, I acquaint you that they have given me assurance, and I
 “ assure you, that they will depart as soon as you will lay down your
 “ arms. Quiet therefore your emotions; let your fidelity to me ap-
 “ pear in this, unless what I have heard is true, that you have sworn
 “ to another that obedience which you owe to me; which I cannot be-
 “ lieve, nor can you ever do, without drawing the vengeance of heaven
 “ down upon you.”

The people remained silent for some time, until a Mexican (*f*), more daring than the rest, raised his voice, calling the king cowardly and effeminate, and fitter to manage a spindle and a shuttle than to govern a nation so courageous; and reproaching him for having, from his cowardice and baseness, suffered himself to be made the prisoner of his enemies: and not content with reviling him with words, taking a bow in his hand, he shot an arrow at him. The common people, who are always apt to be moved by the first impulse which is given them, quickly followed his example; reproaches and contumelious language were heard on every side; and showers of stones and arrows poured towards the quarter where the king stood. The Spanish historians say, that although the person of the king was covered with two shields, he was wounded by a blow from a stone on the head, by another in the leg, and by an arrow in the arm. He was immediately carried by his servants to his chamber, more wounded in soul by anger and vexation, than hurt by the sacrilegious weapons of his subjects.

In the mean while, the Mexicans persisted in their attacks, and the Spaniards in their defence, until some nobles called Cortes to that same place where the king had received his wounds, in order to treat with him about certain articles, of which we do not find any historian give a proper and clear account. Cortes demanded of them why they were inclined to treat him as an enemy, having done them no wrong? “ If you would avoid farther hostilities (said they), depart immediately

(*f*) Acosta says, that the Mexican who spoke these insults to the king was Quauhtemotzin, his nephew, and the last king of Mexico.

“ from this city; if not, we are resolved to die, or to kill you all.” BOOK IX.
 Cortes replied, that he did not complain to them because he was afraid of their arms, but because he was pained to be obliged to kill so many of them, and destroy so beautiful a city. The nobles went away, repeating their menaces.

The three warlike machines being at length finished, Cortes went out with them early on the 28th of June, and proceeded through one of the principal streets of the city with three thousand Tlascalans and other auxiliary troops, with the greater part of the Spaniards, and ten pieces of artillery. When they came to the bridge over the first canal, they drew the machines and scaling ladders near to the houses, in order to drive the crowds from the terraces; but the stones were so many and so large which were thrown at the machines, that they broke through them. The Spaniards fought courageously until mid-day, without being able to take possession of the bridge; on which account they returned in shame to their quarters, leaving one man killed, and carrying back many wounded.

The Mexicans having been greatly encouraged by this last event, five hundred nobles fortified themselves in the upper area of the greater temple, well furnished with arms and provisions, and from thence began to do great damage to the Spaniards with stones and arrows, while other Mexican troops attacked them by the streets. Cortes sent a captain with a hundred soldiers to drive the nobles from that station, which, being so very high and neighbouring, entirely commanded the quarters; but having made three different attempts to ascend there, they were vigorously repulsed. The general then determined to make the assault upon the temple himself, although he still suffered from a severe wound he had received in his left hand ever since the first engagement. He tied his shield to his arm, and having caused the temple to be surrounded by a sufficient number of Spaniards and Tlascalans, began to ascend the stairs of it with a great part of his people. The nobles, who were now besieged, disputed their ascent with great courage, and overturned some of the Spaniards; in the mean while, other Mexican troops having entered the lower area, fought furiously with those who surrounded the temple. Cortes, though not without the utmost fatigue and difficulty, at last gained

SECT. XVII.
 Terrible engagement in the temple.

BOOK IX. the upper area along with his party. Now came on the greatest heat and danger of the contest, which lasted upwards of three hours. Part of the Mexicans died by the point of the sword, and part threw themselves down to the lower floors of the temple, where they continued the fight until they were all killed. Cortes ordered the sanctuary to be set on fire, and returned in good order to the quarters. Forty-six Spaniards lost their lives in this action, and all the rest came off wounded and bathed in blood. This spirited assault was one of those in which the opponents fought with the greatest courage on both sides, and on that account the Tlascalans, as well as the Mexicans, represented it in their paintings after the conquest (g).

Some historians have added the circumstance of the great danger in which, according to their account, Cortes was of being precipitated from the upper area by two Mexicans, who, being resolved to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, seized Cortes in their arms upon the edge of it, in order to drag him along with themselves in their fall from thence, trusting to put an end to the war by the death of that general; but this fact, of which neither Cortes nor Bernal Diaz, nor Gomara, nor any other of the more ancient historians make mention, is rendered still more improbable by the circumstances added to it by some modern authors (h).

Cortes having returned to the quarters, had a fresh conference with some respectable persons among the Mexicans, representing to them the losses they sustained from the Spanish arms. They answered, that it was of no importance to them provided the Spaniards were destroyed;

(g) The differences of opinion among historians respecting the order and circumstances of the engagements which happened in those days, is inexpressible. We follow the account given by Cortes, considering him the best authority.

(h) Solis says, that the two Mexicans approached *on their knees to Cortes, in the act of imploring his mercy, and without delay threw themselves downwards with their prey in their hands, increasing the violence of the effort with their natural weight; that Cortes got clear of them and repulsed them, though not without difficulty.* We find it rather difficult to believe Cortes possessed of such surprising force: the very humane gentlemen Raynal and Robertson, moved with compassion, it would appear, for the danger Cortes was in, have provided some kind of unknown battlements and iron rails, by which he saved himself until he got clear of the Mexicans; but neither did the Mexicans ever make iron rails, nor had that temple any battlements. It is wonderful that these authors, so incredulous concerning what is attested by the Spanish and Indian writers, should yet believe what is neither to be found among the ancient authors, nor probable in itself.

that if they were not all cut off by the Mexicans, they would infallibly perish by famine shut up in their quarters. Cortes having observed that night some inattention and want of vigilance among the citizens, sallied out with some companies of soldiers, and proceeding through one of the principal streets of the city, he set fire to more than three hundred houses (*i*).

The next day his machines being repaired, he went out with them and the greatest part of his troops, and directed his course along the great road of Iztapalapan with more success than before; for in spite of a vigorous resistance from the enemies in their intrenchments made to defend them from the fire of the Spaniards, he took possession of the four first bridges, and set fire to some of the houses upon that road, and made use of the ruins to fill up the ditches and canals, that there might be no difficulty of passage if the Mexicans should raise the bridges. He left a sufficient garrison upon the posts which he had taken, and returned to quarters with many wounded, leaving ten or twelve dead behind him.

The day after he continued his attacks upon the same road, took the three bridges which remained, and charging the enemy which defended them, he at last got upon the main land. Whilst he was attending to fill up the last ditches, to facilitate, as is probable, his retreat from that capital by means of that same road by which he had been now seven months entered, he was told that the Mexicans were willing to capitulate; and, in order to hear their propositions, he returned in haste to the quarters with the cavalry, leaving the infantry to guard the bridges. The Mexicans intimated that they were ready to desist from all hostilities; but, that the capitulation might take place, it was necessary to have the high-priest, who had been made prisoner by the Spaniards, when they made the assault upon the temple; Cortes set him at liberty, and a suspension of arms took place. This appears to have been a mere stratagem of the electors to recover the chief of their religion, for whose person they had occasion to anoint the new king whom they had chosen, or were going now to chuse; for Cortes had hardly obtained a cessation of arms, when some Tlascalans arrived with the news that the Mexicans had retaken

(*i*) Bernal Diaz says, that it was a great fatigue to make them burn, from their being covered with terraces and separated from each other.

BOOK IX. the bridges and killed some Spaniards, and that a great body of warriors were coming against the quarters; Cortes went immediately to meet them with the cavalry, and making way through them with the utmost difficulty and danger, he recovered the bridges, but whilst he was retaking the last, the Mexicans had again taken the four first, and had begun to draw out the materials with which the ditches had been filled up by the Spaniards. The general returned at length to regain them, and then retired to the quarters with his people, who were now all weary, melancholy, and wounded.

Cortes, in his letter to Charles V. represents the great danger he was in, that day, of losing his life, and ascribes it to particular providence that he escaped from among such a multitude of enemies. It is certain, that from the moment they rose against the Spaniards, they would have been able to have destroyed them with all their allies, if they had observed a better order in fighting, and if there had been more agreement among the inferior officers who led on the attacks; but they could not agree among themselves, as will appear hereafter, and the populace were merely actuated by their tumultuous fury. On the other hand, it is not to be doubted, that the Spaniards must have appeared to them to have been made of iron; for they neither yielded to the distress of famine, nor to the necessity of sleep, nor to continual fatigue and wounds; after having employed all the day in combating with their enemies, they spent the night in burying the dead, curing the wounded, and repairing the damages done to their quarters during the day by the Mexicans, and even in the little time which they allowed for repose, they never quitted their arms, but were always ready to rise before their enemy. But the hardiness of their troops will appear still more extraordinary in those terrible engagements which we shall presently relate.

SECT. XIX.
Death of
King Mon-
tezuma, and
other lords.

On one of those days, probably the thirtieth of June, died, in the quarters of the Spaniards, the king Montezuma, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, in the eighteenth of his reign, and the seventh month of his imprisonment. With regard to the cause and the circumstances of his death, there is so great a difference and contradiction among historians, it is altogether impossible to ascertain the truth. The Mexican historians blame the Spaniards, and the Spanish historians ac-

cuse the Mexicans of it (*k*). We cannot be persuaded that the Spaniards should resolve to take away the life of a king to whom they owed so many benefits, and from whose death they could only expect new misfortunes. His loss was lamented, if we are to credit Bernal Diaz, an eye-witness and most faithful writer, not less by Cortes and every one of his officers and soldiers, than if he had been their father. He shewed them infinite favour and kindness, whether it had been from natural inclination or fear; he always appeared to them to be their friend at heart, at least there is no reason to believe the contrary, nor was it ever known that he spoke like an enemy of them, as they themselves protested.

His good and bad qualities may be gathered from an account of his actions. He was circumspect, magnificent, liberal, zealous for justice, and grateful for the services of his subjects; but his reserve and distance made the throne inaccessible to the complaints of his people. His magnificence and liberality were supported by the burdens laid on his subjects, and his justice degenerated into cruelty. He was exact and punctual in every thing appertaining to religion, and jealous of the worship of his gods and the observance of rites (*l*). In his youth he was inclined to war and courageous, and came off conqueror, according to history, in nine battles; but in the last year of his reign, domestic pleasures, the fame of the first victories of the Spaniards, and, above all, superstition, weakened and debased his mind to such a degree, that he appeared, as his subjects reproached him, to have changed his sex. He delighted greatly in music and the chase, and was as dextrous in the use of the bow and arrow as in that of the shooting-tube. He was a person of a good stature, but of an indifferent complexion, and of a long visage with lively eyes.

(*k*) Cortes and Gomara affirm, that Montezuma died of the blow from the stone with which his people hit him on the head. Solis says his death was occasioned by his not having his wound dressed. Bernal Diaz adds to this omission and neglect, his voluntary abstinence from food. The chronicler Herrera says, that the wound was not mortal, but that he died of a broken heart. Sahagun, and other Mexican historians, affirm, that the Spaniards killed him, and one of them mentions the circumstance of a soldier having pierced him with an eel-spear.

(*l*) Solis says that Montezuma *hardly bent his neck*, that is, bowed his head to his gods; that he had a higher idea of himself than of them, &c. He adds also, that *the devil favoured him with frequent visits*. Such credulity does not become the great historiographer of the Indies.

BOOK IX.

He left at his death several sons, of whom three perished that unlucky night of the defeat of the Spaniards, either by the hands of the Spaniards themselves, as the Mexicans affirm, or by the hands of the Mexicans, as the Spaniards report. Of those who survived, the most remarkable was Jolualicahuatzin, or Don *Pedro Montezuma*, and of him descended the Counts Montezuma and Tula. Montezuma had this son by Miahuaxochitl, the daughter of Ixtlilcuechahuac, lord of Tollan. By another wife he had Tecuichpotzin, a beautiful princess, from whom descended the two noble houses of Cano Montezuma and Andreda Montezuma. The Catholic kings granted singular privileges to the posterity of Montezuma, on account of the unparalleled service rendered by that monarch in voluntarily incorporating a kingdom so great and rich as Mexico with the crown of Castile. Neither the repeated importunities made to him by Cortes, nor the continual exhortations of Olmedo, particularly in the last days of his life, were sufficient to prevail upon him to embrace Christianity.

As soon as the king died, Cortes communicated intelligence of his death to the prince Cuitlahuatzin, by means of two illustrious persons who had been present at his death, and a little after he made the royal corpse be carried out by six nobles, attended by several priests, who had likewise been in prison (*m*). The sight of it excited much mourning among the people; the last homage which they pay to their sovereign, extolling his virtues to the stars, whom a short time before they could find possessed of nothing but weaknesses and vice. The nobility, after shedding abundance of tears on the cold body of their unfortunate king, carried it to a place of the city called *Copalco* (*n*), where they burned it with the usual ceremonies, and buried the ashes

(*m*) Torquemada, and other authors, say, that Montezuma's dead body was thrown into the *Tehuajoc*, along with others; but from the accounts of Cortes and B. Diaz, it is certain that it was carried out of the quarters by the nobles.

(*n*) Herrera conjectures that Montezuma was buried in Chapoltepec, because the Spaniards heard a great mourning towards that quarter. Solis affirms positively, that it was buried in Chapoltepec, and that the sepulchre of the kings was there; but this is totally contrary to the truth, because Chapoltepec was not less than three miles distant from the Spanish quarters: it was therefore impossible that the Spaniards should have overheard the mourning which was made there, especially when they were in the center of a populous city, and at a time of so much tumult and noise. The kings, besides, had no fixed place of burial; and it is also certain, from the depositions of the Mexicans, that Montezuma's ashes were buried at Copalco.

with the utmost respect and veneration, although some low illiberal Mexicans treated the ceremony with ridicule and abuse.

Upon this same occasion, if there is any truth in what historians relate, Cortes ordered the dead bodies of Itzquauhtzin lord of Tlatelolco, and other imprisoned lords, of whose name there is no mention, to be thrown out of the quarters into a place called *Tehuajoc*, all of whom had been put to death, as they affirm, by order of Cortes, although none of them assign a reason for such a conduct, which, even if it was just, can never be cleared from the charge of imprudence, as the sight of such slaughter must necessarily have exasperated the anger of the Mexicans, and induced them to suspect that the sovereign likewise had been sacrificed by his command (*o*). However it was, the people of Tlatelolco carried off the dead body of their chief in a vessel, and celebrated his funeral rites with great lamentation and mourning.

In the mean time, the Mexicans continued their attacks with still more ardour. Cortes, although he made great slaughter of them and came off always conqueror, yet saw that the blood spilt of his own soldiers was a greater loss than the advantages obtained by his victories compensated; and that at last the want of provisions and ammunition, and the multitude of his enemies, would prevail over the bravery of his troops and the superiority of his arms: believing, therefore, the immediate departure of the Spaniards indispensibly necessary, he called a council of his captains, to deliberate upon the method and time for executing such resolution. Their opinions were different. Some of them said that they ought to depart by day, forcing their way by arms, if the Mexicans opposed them: others thought that they should depart by night; this was the suggestion of a soldier named Botello, who pretended skill in astrology, to whom Cortes paid more deference than was proper, having been induced to do so by having seen some of his predictions accidentally verified. It was resolved, therefore, the vain observations of that wretched soldier being preferred to the dictates of

(*o*) Concerning the death of those lords, no mention is made by Cortes, B. Diaz, Gomara, Herrera, and Solis; but Sahagun, Torquemada, Betancourt, and the Mexican historians, report it as certain. In respect to the latter, and the fidelity due to history, we recite the event, though one of great improbability.

BOOK IX. military skill and prudence, to depart during the night, with all possible secrecy: as if it had been possible to conceal the march of nine thousand men, with their arms, their horses, their artillery, and baggage, from the detection of so numerous and watchful an enemy. They fixed the night of the first of July for their departure (*p*), a night the most unlucky and memorable to the Spaniards, from the great slaughter they suffered, on which account they gave it the name of *noche triste*, by which it is still known in their histories. Cortes ordered a bridge of wood to be made, which could be carried by forty men, to serve for the passing of ditches. He then made all the gold, silver, and gems, which they had hitherto amassed, to be brought out, took the fifth part of it which belonged to the king, and consigned it to the officers belonging to his majesty, declaring the impossibility which he found of preserving and saving it. He left the rest to his officers and soldiers, permitting each of them to take what he pleased; but at the same time, he warned them how much fitter it would be to abandon it all to the enemy; for, when free of that weight, they would find less difficulty to save their lives. Many of them, rather than be disappointed of the principal object of their desires, and the only fruit of their labours, loaded themselves with that heavy burden, under the weight of which they fell victims at once to their avarice and the revenge of their enemies.

SECT. XX.
Terrible defeat suffered by the Spaniards in their retreat.

Cortes ordered his march in the greatest silence of the night, which was rendered still darker by a cloudy sky, and more troublesome and dangerous by a small rain which never ceased falling. He committed the van guard to the invincible Sandoval, with some other officers, and two hundred infantry and twenty horses; the rear guard to Pedro de Alvarado, with the greater part of the Spanish troops. In the body of the army the prisoners were conducted, with the servants and baggage people, where Cortes took also his station, with five horses and an hundred infantry, in order to give speedy relief wherever it should be necessary. The auxiliary troops of Tlascala, Chempoallt,

(*p*) B. Diaz says, that the defeat of the Spaniards happened on the night of the tenth of July; but we believe this to have been a mistake of the printer, as Cortes affirms, that in their retreat, they arrived at Tlascala on the tenth of July; and from the journal of their march kept by this conqueror, it is evident that their defeat could not have happened on any other day than the first of July.

and Cholula, which amounted then to more than seven thousand men, were distributed among the three divisions of the army. Having first implored the protection of Heaven, they began to march by the way of Tlacopan. The greatest part of them passed the first ditch or canal by the assistance of the bridge which they carried with them, without meeting any other resistance than the little which the centinels who guarded that post were able to make; but the priests who watched in the temples having perceived their departure, cried loudly "to arms," and roused the people with their horns. In an instant the Spaniards found themselves attacked by water and by land, by an infinity of enemies, who impeded their own attack by their number and confusion. The encounter at the second ditch was most terrible and bloody, the danger extreme, and the efforts of the Spaniards to escape most extraordinary. The deep darkness of the night, the sounds of arms and armour, the threatening clamours of the combatants, the lamentations of the prisoners, and the languid groans of the dying, made impressions both horrid and piteous. Here was heard the voice of a soldier calling earnestly for help from his companions, another imploring in death mercy from Heaven: all was confusion, tumult, wounds and slaughter. Cortes, like an active feeling general, ran intrepidly here and there, frequently passing and repassing the ditches by swimming, encouraging some of his men, assisting others, and preserving the remains of his harrassed little army, at the utmost risk of being killed or made prisoner, in as much order as possible. The second ditch was so filled with dead bodies, that the rear guard passed over the heap. Alvarado, who commanded it, found himself at the third ditch so furiously charged by the enemy, that, not being able to face about to them, nor swim across without evident danger of perishing by their hands, fixed a lance in the bottom of the ditch, grasping the end of it with his hands, and giving an extraordinary spring to his body, he vaulted over the ditch. This leap, considered as a prodigy of agility, obtained to that place the name which it still preserves of *Salto d'Alvarado*, or Alvarado's leap.

The loss sustained by the Mexicans on this unlucky night was unquestionably great: concerning that of the Spaniards, authors are, as

BOOK IX. in other affairs, of various opinions (*q*); we are apt to think the computation true which has been made by Gomara, who appears to have made the most diligent enquiries, and to have informed himself both from Cortes and the other conquerors; that is, there fell, besides four hundred and fifty Spaniards, more than four thousand auxiliaries, and among them, as Cortes says, all the Cholulans: almost all the prisoners, the men and women who were in the service of the Spaniards, were killed (*r*), also forty-six horses; and all the riches they had amassed, all their artillery, and all the manuscripts belonging to Cortes, containing an account of every thing which had happened to the Spaniards until that period, were lost. Among the Spaniards who were missing, the most considerable persons were, the captains Velasquez de Leon, the intimate friend of Cortes, Amador de Laviz, Francisco Morla, and Francisco de Saucedo, all four, men of great courage and merit. Among the prisoners who were killed was Cacamatzin, that unfortunate king, and a brother and son, and two daughters of Montezuma (*s*), and a daughter of prince Maxixcatzin.

In spite of his greatness of soul, Cortes could not check his tears at the sight of such calamity. He sat down upon a stone in Popotla, a village near Tlacopan, not to repose after his toil, but to weep for the loss of his friends and companions. In the midst of so many disasters, however, he had at least the comfort of hearing that his brave captains Sandoval, Alvarado, Olid, Ordaz, Avila, and Lugo, his inter-

(*q*) Cortes says, that one hundred and fifty Spaniards perished; but he either designedly lessened the number for particular ends, or there was some mistake made by the copyist or first printer of that letter. B. Diaz numbers eight hundred and seventy to have fallen; but in this account he includes, not only those who were killed on that unlucky night, but also those who died before he reached Tlaseala. Solis reckons only upon two hundred, and Torquemada two hundred and ninety. Concerning the number of auxiliary troops which perished then, Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, and Betancourt, are agreed. Solis says only, that more than two thousand Tlascalans were missed; but in this he does not agree with the computation made by Cortes, or other authors.

(*r*) Ordaz affirms, that all the prisoners were killed; but he ought to have excepted Cuicuitzeatzin, whom Cortes had already placed on the throne of Aeolhuacan; because we know from the account of Cortes, that he was one of the prisoners, and, on the other hand, it is certain that he was killed afterwards in Tezeuco.

(*s*) Torquemada affirms, as a well certified point, that Cortes, a few days after he took Cacamatzin, made him be strangled in prison. Cortes, B. Diaz, Betancourt, and others, say that he was killed along with the other prisoners on that memorable night.

preters Aguilar and Donna Marina, were safe, by means of whom he chiefly trusted to be able to repair his honour and conquer Mexico.

The Spaniards found themselves so dejected and enfeebled with fatigue, and with their wounds, that if the Mexicans had pursued them, not one of them could have escaped with life; but the latter had hardly arrived at the last bridge upon that road, when they returned to their city, either because they were contented with the slaughter already committed, or having found the dead bodies of the king of Acolhuacan, the royal princes of Mexico, and other lords, they were employed in mourning for their death, and paying them funeral honours. They would have observed the same conduct with their dead relations or friends; for they left the streets and ditches entirely clean that day, burning all the dead bodies, before they could infect the air by corruption.

At break of day the Spaniards found themselves in Popotla, scattered about, wounded, wearied, and afflicted. Cortes having assembled and formed them in order, marched through the city of Tlacopan, still harassed by some troops of that city and of Azcapozalco, until they came to Otoncalpolco, a temple situated upon the top of a small mountain, nine miles to the west of the capital, where at present stands the celebrated sanctuary or temple of the Virgin *de los remedios*, or succour. Here they fortified themselves as well as they could, to defend themselves with the less trouble from the enemy, who continued to annoy them the whole day. At night they reposed a little, and had some refreshment furnished them by the Otomies, who occupied two neighbouring hamlets, and lived impatient under the yoke of the Mexicans. From this place they directed their course towards Tlascala, their only retreat in their misfortunes, through Quauhtitlan, Citlaltepec, Xoloc, and Zacamolco, annoyed all the way by flying troops of the enemy. In Zacamolco they were so famished, and reduced to such distress, that at supper they eat a horse which had been killed that day by the enemy, of which the general himself had his part. The Tlascalans threw themselves upon the earth to eat the herbs of it, praying for assistance from their gods.

The day following, when they had just began their march by the mountains of Aztaquemecan, they saw at a distance in the plain of Tonan, a little way from the city of Otompan, a numerous and brilliant army, either of Mexicans, as authors generally report, or, as we

BOOK IX.

SECT. XXI.
Fatiguing
march of the
Spaniard.

SECT. XXII.
Famous bat-
tle of Otom-
pan.

BOOK IX. think probable, composed of the troops of Otompan, Calpolalpan, Teotihuacan, and other neighbouring places, assembled at the desire of the Mexicans. Some historians make this army consist of two hundred thousand men, a number computed solely by the eye, and probably increased by their fears. They were persuaded, as Cortes himself attests, that that day was to have been the last of all their lives. This general formed his languid troops, by enlarging the front of his maimed and wretched army, in order that the flanks might be in some manner covered by the small wings of the few cavalry he had left; and with a countenance full of fire he addressed them: “ In such a difficult situation are we placed, that it is necessary, either to conquer or die! Take courage, Castilians! and trust, that He who has hitherto delivered us from so many dangers, will preserve us also in this!” At length the battle was joined, which was extremely bloody, and lasted upwards of four hours. Cortes seeing his troops diminish, and in a great measure discouraged, and the enemy advance still more haughtily notwithstanding the loss they suffered from the Spanish arms, formed a bold and hazardous resolution, by which he gained the victory, and put the miserable remains of his army in security. He recollected to have often heard, that the Mexicans went into disorder and fled whenever their general was killed, or they had lost their standard. Cihuacatzin, general of that army, clothed in a rich military habit, with a beautiful plume of feathers on his helmet, and a gilded shield upon his arm, was carried in a litter upon the shoulders of some soldiers; the standard which he bore was, according to their usage, a net of gold fixed on the point of a staff, which was firmly tied upon his back, and rose about ten palms above his head (*t*): Cortes observed it in the center of that great multitude of enemies, and resolved to strike a decisive blow; he commanded his brave captains Sandoval, Alvarado, Olid, and Avila, to follow behind, to guard him from attack, and immediately, with others who accompanied him, he pushed forward through that quarter where his attempt appeared most practicable with such impetuosity, that he threw many down with his lance, and others with his horse. Thus he advanced through the lines of the enemy,

(*t*) This sort of standard was called by the Mexicans *Tlabuizmatlaxopilli*.

until he came close up with the general, who was accompanied by some of his officers, and with one stroke of his lance extended him on the ground. Juan de Salamanca, a brave soldier, who attended Cortes, dismounting quickly from his horse, put an end to his life, and seizing the plume of feathers on his head presented it to Cortes (*u*). The army of the enemy, as soon as they saw their general killed, and the standard taken, went into confusion and fled. The Spaniards, encouraged by this glorious action of their chief, pursued, and made great slaughter of the fugitives.

This was one of the most famous victories obtained by the Spanish arms in the New World; Cortes distinguished himself in it above all the rest; and his captains and soldiers said afterwards, that they had never seen more courage and activity displayed than upon that day; but he received a severe wound on the head, which daily growing worse, brought his life into the utmost danger. Bernal Diaz justly praises the bravery of Sandoval, and shews how much that gallant officer contributed to this victory, encouraging them all not less by his example than his words. The Spanish historians have also highly celebrated Maria de Estrada, the wife of a Spanish soldier, who, having armed herself with a lance and shield, ran among the enemy, wounding and killing them with an intrepidity very extraordinary in her sex. Of the Tascalans, Bernal Diaz says, that they fought like lions, and amongst them Calme-cahua, captain of the troops of Maxixcatzin, particularly distinguished himself. He was not, however, less remarkable for his bravery than for his longevity, living to the age of one hundred and thirty years.

The loss of the enemy was undoubtedly great in this defeat, but greatly less than several authors represent it, who make it amount to twenty thousand men; a number rather incredible, according to the miserable state to which the Spaniards were reduced, and the want of artillery and other fire-arms. On the contrary, the loss of the Spaniards was not so small as Solis reports it (*x*), for almost all the Tlasca-

(*u*) Charles V. granted some privileges to Juan de Salamanca, and among others a shield of arms for his house, which had a plume upon it in memory of the one which he had taken from the general Cihuacatzin.

(*x*) Solis, in order to exaggerate the victory of Otompan says, that amongst the troops under Cortes some were wounded, of whom two or three Spaniards died in Tascalala: but this author, solely attentive to the ornament of his style, and the panegyric of his hero,

BOOK IX. Spaniards perished, and many of the Spaniards in proportion to the number of their troops, and all of them came off wounded.

The Spaniards, tired at length with pursuing the fugitives, resumed their march towards Tlascala by the eastern part of that plain, remaining that night under the open sky, where the general himself, after the fatigue and wounds he had received, kept guard in person for their greater security. The Spaniards were now not more than four hundred and forty in number. Besides those who had been slain in the engagements, preceding the unfortunate night of their departure from Mexico, there perished during it and the six days following, as Bernal Diaz, an eye-witness affirms, eight hundred and seventy, many of whom having been made prisoners by the Mexicans, were inhumanly sacrificed in the greater temple of the capital.

SECT. XXIII.
Return of the
Spaniards in-
to Tlascala.

The next day, the 8th of July, 1520, they entered, making ejaculations to heaven, and returning thanks to the Almighty, into the dominions of Tlascala, and arrived at Huejotlipan (*y*), a considerable city of that republic. They feared still to find some change in the fidelity of the Tlascalans, well knowing how common it is to see men abandoned in their misfortunes by their dearest friends: but they were soon undeceived by meeting with the most sincere demonstrations of esteem and compassion for the disasters they had undergone. The four chiefs of that republic had no sooner intelligence of their arrival, than they came to Huejotlipan to pay their compliments to them, accompanied by one of the principal lords of Heuxotzinco, and many of the nobility. The prince Maxixcatzin, though severely afflicted by the death of his daughter, endeavoured to console Cortes with hopes

took little note of numbers. He affirms, that Cortes, after the defeat of Narvaez, carried eleven hundred men with him to Mexico, who with other eighty that, according to his account, remained with Alvarado, make eleven hundred and eighty. In the engagements, preceding the defeat of the Spaniards at Mexico, he makes no mention of any death. In the defeat he reckons two hundred only to have been killed; and, in his account of their journey to Tlascala, he speaks of no other but the two or three who died in Tlascala of the wounds they had received at Otompan. Where then are, or how have the other five hundred men and upwards disappeared, which are wanting to make up the number of eleven hundred and eighty. We have a very different idea given us of the battle of Otompan, from those who were present at it, as appears from the letters of Cortes, and the History of Bernal Diaz.

(*y*) Huejotlipan is called by Cortes and Herrera *Gualipan*, by Bernal Diaz *Gualiopar*, and by Solis *Gualipar*.

of revenge which he assured him he might obtain from the courage of the Spaniards and the forces of the republic, which from that time he promised him, and all the other chiefs made offers to the same purpose. Cortes returned them thanks for their kind wishes and offers, and laying hold of the standard which he had taken the day before from the Mexican general, he presented it to Maxixcatzin, and gave to the other lords some other valuable spoils. The Tlascalan women conjured Cortes to revenge the death of their sons and relations, and vented their grief in a thousand imprecations against the Mexican nation.

After reposing three days in this place, they proceeded to the capital of the republic, distant about fifteen miles, for the more speedy cure of their wounded, of whom, however, eight soldiers died. The concourse of people at their entry into Tlascala was great, and perhaps greater than when they made their first entry into that city. The reception which Maxixcatzin gave them, and the care he took of them were becoming his generosity of mind, and demonstrative of the sincerity of his friendship. The Spaniards acknowledged themselves every day more and more obliged to that nation, the friendship of which, by being properly cultivated, proved the most effectual means not only for the conquest of the capital of the Mexican empire, but also of all the provinces which opposed the progress of the Spanish arms, and for the subduing of the barbarous Chichimecas and Otomies, by whom the conquerors were long harrassed.

While the Spaniards were reposing after their fatigues, and recovering of their wounds in Tlascala, the Mexicans were employed in repairing the evils done to their capital and their kingdom. The losses and injuries which they had sustained in the space of one year, were truly heavy and distressing; for, besides immense sums of gold and silver, gems, and other precious things, expended partly in presents to the Spaniards, partly in homage to the king of Spain, of which they recovered but little, the fame of their arms was obscured, and the respect of the crown of Mexico diminished; the Totonacas, and other people, had renounced their obedience; all their enemies had grown more insolent; their temples were materially damaged, and their religion spurned at; many houses of the city were totally demolished, and above all other grievances, they had lost their king, several royal

SECT. XXIV.
Election and
proceedings
of the king
Cuitlahuat-
zin in Mexi-
co.

BOOK IX. personages, and a great part of the nobility. To those reasons for despondence and disgust at the Spaniards, those which were caused by their own civil war were added, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the manuscripts of a Mexican historian who happened to be at this time in the capital, and survived a few years the ruin of the empire. At the time the Spaniards were so much distressed in the capital by famine from the hostilities of the Mexicans, several lords of the first nobility, either in order to favour the party of the Spaniards, or, what is fully more probable, to give succour to the king, who, by being among them was necessarily an equal sufferer with them, secretly supplied them with provisions, and perhaps, declared themselves openly in their favour, in confidence of their own personal authority. From this cause arose a fatal dissension among the Mexicans, which could not be terminated without the death of many illustrious persons, and particularly some of the sons and brothers of Montezuma, according to the account of the above historian.

The Mexicans found the necessity of placing at the head of their nation a man capable of re-establishing its honour, and repairing the losses suffered in the last year of the reign of Montezuma. A little before, or a little after the defeat of the Spaniards, the prince Cuitlahuatzin was elected king of Mexico. He, as we have said already, was lord of Iztapalapan, the particular counsellor of his brother Montezuma, and Tlachcoacatl, or general of the army. He was a person of great talents and sagacity, agreeable to the testimony of Cortes his rival, and liberal and magnificent like his brother. He took great delight in architecture and gardening, as appears from the splendid palace he built in Iztapalapan, and the celebrated garden which he planted there, in whose praises no ancient historian is silent. His bravery and military skill acquired him the highest esteem amongst the Mexicans; and some authors affirm, from particular information of his character, that if he had not met an early death, the capital would never have been taken by the Spaniards (z). It is probable, that the sa-

(z) Solis gives Cuitlahuatzin the name of *Quetlabuca*, and says, that he lived on the throne but a few days, and those were sufficient to make the memory of his name amongst his countrymen be for ever cancelled from his cowardice and insignificance. But this is false, and contrary to the accounts given by Cortes, Bernal Diaz, Gomara, and Torque-

crifices made at the festival of his coronation were those Spaniards whom he himself had taken prisoners in the night of their defeat. BOOK IX.

As soon as the festival of his coronation was over, he employed himself to remedy the disasters suffered by the crown and the empire. He gave orders to repair the damaged temples, and to rebuild the demolished houses, augmented and improved the fortifications of the capital, sent embassies to the different provinces of the empire, encouraging them to the common defence of the state against those hostile strangers, and promised to relieve those who would take up arms in behalf of the crown, from all their tributes. He sent also ambassadors to the republic of Tlascalala, with a considerable present of fine feathers, habits of cotton, and some salt, who were received with due honour, according to the laws established among the polished nations of that country. The purport of the embassy was to represent to that senate, that although the Mexicans and Tlascalans had hitherto been the inveterate enemies of each other, it was now become necessary to unite themselves together as the inhabitants originally of one country, as people of the same language, and as worshippers of the same deities, against the common enemy of their country and religion; that they had already seen the bloody slaughter which had been committed in Mexico, and other places, the sacrilege to the sanctuaries, and the venerable images of the gods, the ingratitude and perfidy shewn to his brother and predecessor, and the most respectable personages of Anahuac; and lastly, that insatiable thirst in those strangers for gold, which impelled them to violate every sacred law of friendship; that if the republic continued to favour the perverse designs of such monsters, they would in the end meet with the same recompence which Montezuma had for the humanity with which he received them into his court, and the liberality which he exercised so long towards them: the Tlascalans would be execrated by all nations for giving aid to such iniquitous usurp-

mada, authors who were better informed than Solis. How could the memory of his name amongst the Mexicans be cancelled, while it was preserved indelibly among the Spaniards, they having considered him as the person who was the cause of their defeat on the first of July, as they themselves testify? Cortes was so mindful of him, and felt so much resentment for those disasters, that when he found he had forces sufficient to undertake the siege of Mexico, being desirous of revenging himself on that king, but not being able to get revenge on his person, he took it upon his favourite city. This was the motive, as Cortes himself says, of his expedition against Iztapalapan.

SECT. XXXV.
Embassy of
the king Cu-
itlahuatzin
to the Tlas-
calans.

BOOK IX. ers, and the gods would pour down all the vengeance of their anger upon them for confederating with the enemies of their worship. If, on the contrary, they would as he prayed, declare themselves the enemies of those men who were abhorred by heaven and earth, the court of Mexico would form a perpetual alliance with them, and from that time forward have a free commerce with the republic, by which they would escape the misery to which they had been hitherto subjected: all the nations of Anahuac would acknowledge their obligation to them for so important a service, and the gods, appeased with the blood of those victims, would shower down the necessary rain upon their fields, stamp success upon their arms, and celebrate the name of Tlascala through all that land.

The senate, after having listened to the embassy, and dismissed the ambassadors from the hall of audience, according to their custom, entered into consultation upon that important question. To some among them the proposals of the court of Mexico appeared just and consistent with the security of the republic; they exaggerated the advantages which were offered to them; and on the other hand, the unlucky issue of the undertaking of the Spaniards in Mexico, and the slaughter made of the Tlascalan troops which had been under their command. Amongst the rest the young Xicotencatl, who had always been the bitter enemy of the Spaniards, raised his voice, and endeavoured, with all the reasons he could urge, to persuade the senate to the Mexican alliance; adding, that it would be much better to preserve the ancient customs of their fathers than to submit to the new and extravagant policy of that proud and imperious nation; that it would be impossible to find a fitter opportunity to rid themselves of the Spaniards than then, when they were reduced in number, feeble in strength, and dejected in mind. Maxixcatzin, who, on the contrary, was sincerely attached to the Spaniards, and possessed of more discernment of the laws of nations, also of a disposition more inclined to observe them, arraigned the sentiments of Xicotencatl, charging him with abominable perfidy in counselling the senate to sacrifice to the revenge of the Mexicans, men who had just felt the rod of adversity, and sought an asylum in Tlascala, trusting in the promises and protestations of the senate and the nation. He continued; that if they flattered themselves with receiving the advantages which

the Mexicans offered, he, on the contrary, hoped for greater from the bravery of the Spaniards; that if there was no motive to place confidence in them, they ought still less to confide in the Mexicans, of whose perfidy they had so many examples; lastly, that no crime would be capable of provoking so strongly the anger of the gods, and obscuring the glory of the nation, as such impious treachery to their innocent guests. Xicotencatl pressed his counsel upon the senate, presenting to them an odious picture of the genius and customs of the Spaniards. So great an altercation ensued, and their minds became so much heated, that Maxixcatzin, transported with passion, gave a violent push to Xicotencatl, and threw him down some steps of the audience chamber, calling him a seditious traitor to his country. Such an accusation made by a person so circumspect, so respected and loved by the nation, obliged the senate to imprison Xicotencatl.

The resolution which they came to was, to answer to the embassy that the republic was ready to accept the peace and friendship of the court of Mexico, when it did not require so unworthy an act, and a crime so enormous, as the sacrifice of their guests and friends; but when the ambassadors were sought for, to have the answer of the senate delivered to them, it was found they had already departed in secret from Tlascala: for having observed the people a little unquiet upon their arrival, they were afraid that some attempt might have been made against the respect due to their character. It is therefore probable that the senate sent Tlascalan messengers with their answer to the court. The senators endeavoured to conceal from the Spaniards the purport of the embassy, and all that had happened in the senate; but, in spite of their secrecy, Cortes knew it, and with justice thanked Maxixcatzin for his good offices, and engaged to confirm him in the favourable idea he entertained of the bravery and friendship of the Spaniards.

The senate, not content with those proofs of its great fidelity, acknowledged fresh obedience to the Catholic king; and what was still more flattering to their guests, the four chiefs of the republic renounced idolatry, and were baptized, while Cortes and his officers stood their god-fathers, and the function was celebrated by Olmedo with great rejoicing, and jubilee through all Tlascala.

BOOK IX.

SECT. XXVI.
New di-con-
tents and
fears among
some of the
Spaniards.

Cortes was now freed from the danger to which his life was exposed from the blow he had received on his head in the last battle; and the rest of the Spaniards, except a few who died, were cured of their wounds by the assistance of the Tlascalcan surgeons. During the time of his sickness, Cortes thought of nothing else than the means he must use to conduct his undertaking of the conquest of Mexico to a prosperous end; and to further this, he had ordered a considerable quantity of timber to be cut for the construction of thirteen brigantines; but while he was forming those grand projects, many of his soldiers were indulging very different thoughts in their minds. They beheld their number diminished, themselves poor, ill accoutred, and unfurnished with horses as well as arms. They could not chase from their thoughts the terrible conflict and tragic night of the first of July, and were unwilling to expose themselves any more to new adventures. Their present ideas, and future apprehensions, were both too much for them; and they blamed their general for his obstinacy in so rash an undertaking. From murmurs in private, they proceeded to make a legal request to him, desirous of prevailing on him, by a variety of arguments, to return to Vera Cruz, where they could procure fresh troops, and a supply of arms and provisions, for the purpose of attempting the conquest with greater hopes, as at present they deemed it impossible. Cortes was much troubled at this alteration of their sentiments, which threatened to frustrate all his designs; but exercising his talent to persuade his soldiers to his own pleasure, he made them a pointed energetic speech, which had effect enough to make them give up their pretensions. He reproached them for that bud of cowardice he saw springing in their minds, awakened their sentiments of honour, by a flattering recital of their glorious actions, and the protestations full of ardor and courage with they had frequently made him. He made them fully sensible how much more difficult it would be for them to return to Vera Cruz than to remain at Tlascala; assured them of the fidelity of that republic, of which they seemed a little doubtful. Lastly, he prayed them to suspend their resolution, until they should see the event of the war, which he designed to make upon the province of Tepejacac, in which he hoped to find new proofs of the sincerity of the Tlascalans.

SECT. XXVII.
War of the
Spaniards a-
gainst Tepe-
jacac.

The lords of the province of Tepejacac, which bordered on the republic of Tlascala, had declared themselves the friends of Cortes, and

subjects of the court of Spain, ever since that terrible massacre which the Spaniards had made in Cholula ; but seeing afterwards that the Spaniards were worsted, and the Mexicans victorious, they put themselves again under obedience to the king of Mexico ; and, in order to conciliate his favour, they killed some Spaniards who were on their journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and unapprised of the tragedy which had happened to their companions there ; they admitted a Mexican garrison into their territory, and occupied the road which led from Vera Cruz to Tlascala ; and, not even contented with that, they made some incursions into the lands of that republic. Cortes proposed to make war upon them, not less to punish their perfidy than to secure the road from that port for the succours he expected from thence. He was instigated also to this expedition by the young Xicotencatl, who had been set at liberty by the mediation of the Spanish general himself, and that he might remove every suspicion against him concerning what had passed in the senate, offered to assist him in that war with a strong army. Cortes accepted his offer ; but before he took up arms, he in a friendly manner demanded satisfaction of the Tepejacans and advised them to quit the Mexican cause, promising to pardon the trespass they had committed in murdering those Spaniards ; but his proposition having been rejected, he marched against them with four hundred and twenty Spaniards and six thousand Tlascalan archers, while Xicotencatl was levying an army of fifty thousand men. In Tzimpontzinco, a city of the republic, so many troops assembled from the states of Huexozinco, and Cholula, that it was imagined their number amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand.

The first expedition was against Zacatepec, the place of the confederacy of the Tepejacans. The inhabitants of it laid in ambuscade for the Spaniards. They fought on both sides with great courage and obstinacy, but at last the Spaniards were victors, and a considerable number of the enemy left dead on the field (*a*). From thence the army marched against Acatzinco, a city ten miles to the southward of

(*a*) Several historians say, that the night after the battle of *Zacatepec* the allies of the Spaniards had a great supper of human flesh ; part roasted on spits of wood, part boiled in fifty thousand pots. But this appears a complete fable. It is not probable that Cortes, or Bernal Diaz, should have omitted an event in their relations of so remarkable a nature, particularly Diaz, who is generally too prolix and tedious in his recital of such acts of inhumanity.

BOOK IX. Tepejacac, into which the Spaniards entered triumphant, after gaining a battle little less difficult than that of Zacatepec. From Acatzinco Cortes sent detachments to burn several places in that neighbourhood, and to subject others to his obedience; and when it appeared to be time to attack the principal city, he set out with all his army for Tepejacac, where he entered without any resistance from the citizens. Here he declared many prisoners taken in that province to be slaves, and made the mark of a seal upon them with a hot iron, according to the barbarous custom of that century, allotting the fifth part of them to the king of Spain, and dividing the rest among the Spaniards and the allies. He founded there, according to the manner of speaking of the Spaniards in those days, a city which he called *Segura della Frontera*, the founding of which consisted in establishing Spanish magistrates there, and erecting a small fortification (*b*).

SECT.
XXVIII.
War of
Quauhquechollan.

The Mexican troops, garrisoned in that province, retreated from it, not having sufficient strength to resist the power of their enemies; but, at the same time, there appeared at the city of Quauhquechollan (*c*), distant about four miles from Tepejacac, towards the south, an army of Mexicans sent there by king Cuitlahuatzin, to hinder the passage of the Spaniards by that quarter to the capital, if they now should attempt it. Quauhquechollan was a considerable city, containing from five to six thousand families, pleasantly situated, and not less fortified by nature than by art. It was naturally defended on one side by a steep rocky mountain, and on another side by two parallel running rivers. The whole of the city was surrounded by a strong wall of stone and lime, about twenty feet high and twelve broad, with a breast-work all round, of about three feet in height. There were but four ways to enter, at those places where the extremities of the wall were doubled, forming two semicircles, as we have already represented in the figure given in our eighth book. The difficulty of the entrance was increased by the elevation of the site of the city, which was almost equal to the height of the wall itself; so that in order to enter, it was necessary to ascend by some very deep steps.

(*b*) The city of Tepejacac, or Tepeaca, as the Spaniards call it, is still existing; but the name of *Segura della Frontera* was soon forgotten. Charles V. gave it the title and honour of Spanish City in 1545. At present, it belongs to the marquisate of the valley.

(*c*) Quauhquechollan is called by the Spaniards Guaquechula, or *Huacachula*. At present, it is a pleasant Indian village, abounding with good fruits.

The lord of that city, who was partial to the Spaniards, sent an embassy to Cortes, declaring his submission to the king of Spain, who had been already acknowledged sovereign of all that land, in the celebrated assembly held by king Montezuma with the Mexican nobility, in the presence of Cortes; that, although desirous, he was not permitted by the Mexicans to manifest his fidelity; that, then there were a great number of Mexican officers in Quauhquechollan, and thirty thousand men of war partly in that city, partly in the places around it, for the purpose of preventing any confederacy with the Spaniards: nevertheless, he requested him to come to his assistance, and free him from the vexations which he suffered from those troops. Cortes was pleased with the intelligence, and immediately sent with the same messengers a party of thirteen horses, two hundred Spaniards, and thirty thousand auxiliary troops, under the command of captain Olid. The messengers, according to the order of their lord, undertook to conduct the army by a way little travelled, and apprised captain Olid that when they came near to the city, the Quauhquechollans were to attack with some armed bodies the quarters of the Mexican officers, and to endeavour to seize or kill them, in order that when the Spanish army entered the city, it might be easy for them to defeat the enemy without their leaders. But twelve miles before the army reached Quauhquechollan, the Spanish commander became suspicious that the Huexotzincas might be secretly confederated with the Quauhquechollans and the Mexicans, in order to destroy the Spaniards. His suspicion, occasioned by secret information, and rendered still more strong by the numbers of the Huexotzincas, who of their own accord joined the army, obliged him to return to Cholula, where he made some of the most respectable persons among the Huexotzincas and the ambassadors of Quauhquechollan be seized, and sent them under a strong guard to Cortes, that he might make enquiry into this supposed stratagem.

Cortes was extremely vexed at this proceeding against such faithful friends as the Huexotzincas: nevertheless he carefully examined them, discovered the innocence and fidelity of both parties, and observed, that the late disasters had made the Spaniards more timorous, and that fear, as usual, had induced them to carry their suspicion farther than was proper or necessary. He gave kind treatment, and made presents to the

BOOK IX. Quauhquechollans and the Huexotzincas; and, accompanied by them, he marched for Cholula, with a hundred Spanish infantry and ten horses, having resolved to execute this enterprise in person. He found the Spaniards in Cholula apprehensive, but he soon encouraged them, and then marched for Quauhquechollan, with all his army, which consisted now of three hundred Spaniards and upwards of a hundred thousand allies: such was the readiness of those people in taking arms to free themselves from the yoke of the Mexicans. Before he arrived at Quauhquechollan, Cortes was informed by the chief of that city, that all the purposed measures had been taken; that the Mexicans were confiding in their centinels posted upon the towers of the city, and on the road; but that the centinels had already been secretly seized and confined by the citizens.

The Quauhquechollans no sooner saw the army which was coming to their assistance, than they attacked the quarters of the Mexican officers with such fury, that, before Cortes entered the city, they presented him forty prisoners. When the general entered, three thousand citizens were assaulting the principal dwelling of the Mexicans, who, though greatly inferior in number, defended themselves so bravely that they could not take the house, although they had rendered themselves masters of the terraces. Cortes made the assault, and took it; but in spite of the efforts he made to seize any one of them, from whom he might learn some intelligence of the court, the Mexicans fought with such obstinacy, that they were all killed, and he with difficulty obtained some few particulars from a dying officer. The other Mexicans, who were scattered through the city, fled out precipitately to incorporate themselves with the body of the army, encamped on a high ground which commanded all the environs. They immediately formed in order of battle, entered the city, and began setting fire to the houses. Cortes affirms, that he never saw an army make a more beautiful appearance, on account of the gold and the plumes with which their armour was adorned. The Spaniards defended the city with their cavalry and many thousands of allies, and forced them to retreat to a high and almost inaccessible ground; but being likewise thither pursued by their enemies, they betook themselves to the summit of a very lofty mountain, leaving numbers dead on the field. The conquerors, after having sacked the Mexican camp, returned to the city loaded with spoils.

The army rested three days in Quauhquechollan, and on the fourth marched towards Itzocan (*d*), a city containing from three to four thousand families, situate on the side of a mountain, about ten miles from Quauhquechollan, surrounded by a deep river and a small wall. Its streets were well disposed, and its temples so numerous, that Cortes imagined them, including small and large, to be more than a hundred in number. The air of it is hot, from being situated in a deep valley, shut in by high mountains; and its soil, like that of Quauhquechollan, fertile, and shaded by trees bearing the most beautiful blossoms and excellent fruits. A prince of the royal blood of Mexico governed the state at this time, to whom Montezuma had given it in fief, after having put its lawful lord to death, for some misdemeanor of which we are ignorant; and there was now in it a garrison of from five to six thousand Mexican troops. All these particulars having been communicated to Cortes, he was induced to make an expedition against Itzocan. His army was so much increased, that it amounted, according to his own affirmation, to about the number of a hundred and fifty thousand men. He stormed the city on that side where the entry was least difficult. The Itzocanese, seconded by the royal troops, made at first some resistance; but having been at last overcome by superiority of force, they went into confusion, and fled by the opposite part of the city: and, having crossed the river, they raised the bridges to prevent the pursuit of the enemy. The Spaniards and the allies, in spite of the difficulty of getting across the river, chased them four miles, killing some, making others prisoners, and striking terror and dismay to the whole. Cortes, having returned to the city, made all the sanctuaries be set on fire, and by means of some prisoners, recalled the citizens who were scattered through the mountains, and invited them to return without fear to inhabit their houses. The lord of Itzocan had absented from the city, and set out for Mexico, whenever the army of the enemy came in sight. That was sufficient to the nobility to declare the state vacant, particularly as in all probability he was not very acceptable to them; on which account they agreed, with the authority and under the protection of Cortes, to give it to a son of the lord of Quauhquechollan, and a daughter of that lord who was put to death by Montezuma; and

BOOK IX.

 SECT. XXIX.
 War of Itzocan.

(*d*) Itzocan is called Izucar by the Spaniards.

BOOK IX. because he was still a youth of few years, his father, his uncle, and two other nobles, were appointed his tutors.

The fame of the victories of the Spaniards spread suddenly through all the country, and drew the obedience of many to the Catholic king. Besides Quauhquechollan, Itzocan, and Ocopetlajoccan, a large city at a little distance from the two first, some lords came to pay homage to the crown of Castile, from eight places of Coaixtlahuacan, a part of the great province of Mixtecapan, more than a hundred and twenty miles distant towards the south from the city of Quauhquechollan, courting with emulation the alliance and friendship of such brave strangers.

SECT. XXX.
War of Xalatzinco, Tecamachalco, and Tochtepec.

Cortes, having returned to Tepejacac, made war, by means of his captains, on some cities who had shewn hostilities to the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Xalatzinco, a city at a little distance from the road of Vera Cruz, were conquered by the brave Sandoval, and the principal persons carried prisoners to Cortes, who, upon seeing them humble and penitent, set them at liberty again. Those of Tecamachalco, a city of considerable size, of the Popolocan nation, made a stout resistance; but at last they surrendered, and two thousand of them were made slaves. Against Tochtepec, a large city upon the river Papaloapan, where there was a Mexican garrison, he sent a captain, named Salcedo, with eighty Spaniards, of whom not one returned alive to bring the general the news of their defeat. This loss was sensibly felt by Cortes, and on account of the few Spaniards he then had, was a very heavy one; but, in order to revenge it, he sent two brave captains, Ordaz and Avila, with some horses and two thousand allies against the garrison, who, notwithstanding the great courage with which the Mexicans defended themselves, took the city, and killed a number of the enemy.

The loss of those eighty soldiers was not the only thing which distressed Cortes. Those who a little time before had conjured him to return to Vera Cruz, persisted now so obstinately in their demand, that he was obliged to grant them permission not to return to Vera Cruz, to wait for some reinforcement, but to Cuba, in order to be at a greater distance from the dangers of war, it appearing a less evil to that judicious and discerning leader to diminish the number of his troops than to keep discontented men, who, by their want of spirit, would relax

the courage and damp the minds of the rest ; but this loss was quickly and abundantly supplied by a considerable number of soldiers, who arrived with horses, arms, and ammunition, at the port of Vera Cruz ; one party being sent to the governor of Cuba to the assistance of Narvaez, the other by the governor of Jamaica, to the expedition of Panuco : who all willingly joined themselves to Cortes, converting those very means, which were employed by his enemies for his ruin, into instruments of his success.

The conquests of the Spaniards, and the number of their allies, so aggrandised their name, and procured such authority to Cortes among those people, that he was the umpire in all their differences, and they repaired to him as if he had been the sovereign lord of all the region, to obtain confirmation of the investiture of vacant states, and in particular those of Cholula and Ocotelolco in Tlascalala, both vacant by deaths occasioned by the small-pox. This scourge of the human race, totally unknown hitherto in the new world, was brought there by a Moorish slave belonging to Narvaez. He infected the Chempoaltese, and from thence the infection spread through all the Mexican empire, to the irremediable destruction of those nations. Many thousands perished and some places were utterly depopulated. They whose constitution surmounted the violence of the distemper, remained so disfigured and marked with such deep pits in the face, that they raised horror in every person, who viewed them. Among other disasters occasioned by this disorder, the death of Cuitlahuatzin, after a reign of three or four months, was most sensibly felt by the Mexicans, and the death of prince Maxixcatzin by the Tlascalans and Spaniards.

The Mexicans chose Quauhtemotzin, nephew of the deceased Cuitlahuatzin, for their king, as no brother of the two last kings was surviving. This was a youth of about twenty-five years, of great spirit ; and although not much practised in the art of war, on account of his age, he continued the military dispositions of his predecessor. He married his cousin Tecuichpotzin, daughter of Montezuma, and formerly wife to his uncle Cuitlahuatzin.

The death of Maxixcatzin was greatly lamented by Cortes, as much on account of the particular friendship formed between them, as to him it had been principally owing that there was so much harmony

SECT. XXXI.
Havock
made by the
small-pox.
Death of king
Cuitlahuat-
zin and the
prince Max-
ixcatzin, and
election of
king Quauh-
temotzin.

BOOK IX. between the Tlascalans and the Spaniards. Having rendered the road of Vera Cruz perfectly secure, and sent the captain Ordaz to the court of Spain, with a distinct account in writing, addressed to Charles V. of all that had hitherto happened; and the captain Avila to the island of Hispaniola, to solicit new succours for the conquest of Mexico, he departed from Tepejacac for Tlasecala, entered there, dressed in mourning, and made other demonstrations of grief for the death of his friend the prince. At the request of the Tlascalans themselves, and in the name of the Catholic king, he conferred the vacant state of Ocotelolco, one of the four principal states of that republic, on the son of the late prince, a youth of twelve years, and, in honour of the merits of his father, he armed him as a knight according to the custom of Castile.

SECT.
XXXII.
Exaltation of
prince Coanacotzin and
death of Cuicuitcatzin.

About this same time, though from a very different cause, the death of the prince Cuicuitcatzin happened, whom Montezuma and Cortes had placed on the throne of Acolhuacan in the room of his unfortunate brother Cacamatzin. He was not permitted to enjoy long his borrowed dignity, for he who had given him the crown very soon deprived him of his liberty. He departed from Mexico among the other prisoners that night of the defeat of the Spaniards; but he had then the fortune, or perhaps rather misfortune to escape, as he was soon to lose his life in a more ignominious manner. He accompanied the Spaniards in their engagements as far as Tlasecala, where he remained, until having become either impatient of oppression or desirous of recovering the throne, he fled in secret to Tezcucó. At this court his brother Coanacotzin was then reigning, to whom, after the death of Cacamatzin the crown in right belonged. Cuicuitcatzin had hardly made his appearance when he was made prisoner by the royal ministers, who gave speedy advice to their king of it, who was then absent at Mexico. He communicated it to king Quauhquemotzin his cousin, who considering that fugitive prince a spy of the Spaniards, thought he should be put to death. Coanacotzin, either to please that monarch, or to take away from Cuicuitcatzin any opportunity of attempting to recover the crown to the prejudice of his own right and the peace of the kingdom, executed that sentence upon him.

BOOK X.

March of the Spaniards to Tezcuco; their Negotiations with the Mexicans; their Excursions and Battles in the Environs of the Mexican Lakes; Expeditions against Ixcapichtlan, Quauhnahuac, and other Cities; Construction of the Brigantines; Conspiracy of some Spaniards against Cortes; Review, Division, and Posts of the Spanish Army; Siege of Mexico, Imprisonment of King Quauhtemotzin, and Fall of the Mexican Empire.

CORTES, who never quitted the thought of the conquest of Mexico, attended most diligently, while in Tlascala, to the building of the brigantines and to the discipline of his troops. He obtained of the senate a hundred men of burden, for the transportation of the sails, cordage, iron, and other materials of the vessels, which he had unrigged the preceding year on purpose to equip the brigantines; for tar he extracted a large quantity of turpentine from the pines on the great mountain Matlalcueje. He gave notice to the Huexotzinca, Cholulans, Tepejachese, and other allies, to prepare their troops and collect a large store of provisions of every kind for a numerous army, which was to be employed in besieging Mexico. When it appeared to him to be time to march, he made a review of his troops, which consisted of forty horse and five hundred and fifty infantry. He divided this small body of cavalry into four troops, and the infantry into nine companies, some of them armed with guns, some with cross-bows, some with swords and shields, and others with pikes. From the horse on which he was mounted, while he was reviewing his troops and ordering the ranks, he made them this speech: "My friends and brave companions! any discourse which I might make to animate your zeal would be altogether superfluous, as we all acknowledge ourselves bound to repair the honour of our arms, and to revenge

BOOK X.

SECT. I.
Review and
march of the
Spanish
army to
Tezcuco.

BOOK X.

“ the death of the Spaniards and our allies : let us go to the conquest of
 “ Mexico, the most glorious enterprize which can present itself to us
 “ through life ; let us go, to punish, with one stroke, the perfidy,
 “ the pride, and the cruelty of our enemies ; to extend the dominions
 “ of our sovereign, by adding this large and rich domain to them ; to
 “ pave the way to religion, and open the gates of heaven to many millions
 “ of souls ; to gain, with the labour of a few days, a competence for
 “ our families, and to render all our names immortal ; motives all ca-
 “ pable of encouraging even the most dastardly minds, as well as your
 “ generous and noble hearts : I see no difficulty before us, which your
 “ bravery may not overcome : our enemies are indeed numerous, but
 “ we are superior to them in courage, in discipline, and in arms ; be-
 “ sides we have such a number of auxiliaries under our command, that
 “ we might conquer with their assistance not one only, but many cities
 “ equal to Mexico : however strong it may be, it is not yet so powerful
 “ as to withstand the attacks we shall make upon it by land and water :
 “ lastly, God, for whose glory we fight, has shewn a disposition to
 “ prosper our designs ; his providence has preserved us in the midst
 “ of all our disasters and dangers, has sent us new companions in the
 “ room of those we have lost, and converted to our benefit the means
 “ which our enemies employed for our ruin : what may we not expect
 “ in future from his mercy ? let us confide in him, and not render
 “ ourselves unworthy of his protection by diffidence and pusillanimity.”

The Tlascalans, who endeavoured to imitate the discipline of the Spaniards, thought proper also to make a review of their troops before Cortes. The army was preceded by their martial music of horns, sea-shells, and other such wind-instruments, after which came the four chiefs of the republic, armed with sword and shield, and adorned with most rich and beautiful plumes, which rose more than two feet above their heads ; they wore their hair tied with fillets of gold, pendants of gems at their lips and ears, and shoes of great value upon their feet ; behind them came their four shield-bearers, armed with bows and arrows ; next the four principal standards of the republic appeared, each with its proper ensign wrought of feathers ; then passed in regular ranks of twenty each the troops of archers, carrying at certain

distances the particular standards of their companies, every one of which was composed of three or four hundred men. They were followed by the troops, armed with swords and shields, and lastly, by the pikemen. Herrera and Torquemada affirm, that the archers amounted to sixty, the pikemen to ten, and the others armed with swords to forty thousand in number. Xicotencatl, the younger, made also an address to his troops, after the example of Cortes, in which he told them, that the next day, as had already been intimated, they were to march with the brave Spaniards against the Mexicans, their inveterate enemies; that although the Tlascalan name was sufficient to intimidate all the nations of Anahuac, they must exert themselves to acquire new glory from their actions.

Cortes, on his part, assembled the principal lords of the allied states, and exhorted them to constant fidelity to the Spaniards, exaggerating to them the advantages they might hope for, from the ruin of their enemy, and the evils they might dread, if ever from the suggestions of the Mexicans, or the fear of war, or fickleness of mind they should violate their promised faith. He then published a military proclamation for the conduct of his troops, containing the following articles :

1st. No person shall blaspheme against God, nor the blessed Virgin, nor against the saints.

2d. No person shall quarrel with another, nor put his hand to his sword, nor any other weapon to strike him.

3d. No person shall game with his arms, or his horse, or iron tools.

4th. No person shall force any woman, under pain of death.

5th. No person shall take away the property of another, nor punish any Indian, unless he is his slave.

6th. No persons shall make excursions from the camp without our permission.

7th. No person shall make any Indian prisoner, nor plunder his house, without our permission.

8th. No person shall ill use the allies, but, on the contrary, must exert every means to maintain their friendship.

And because it is of no service to publish laws, if the observance of them is not zealously attended to, and delinquents punished, he ordered

BOOK X. two Moors, his slaves, to be hanged, because they stole a turkey and two cotton mantles. By these, and other similar punishments, he made his orders be regarded, which greatly contributed to the preservation of his troops.

After he had made all the dispositions which he thought would conduce to the happy issue of his enterprise, he at length marched with all his Spaniards, and a considerable number of the allies, on the 28th of December, 1520, having first heard mass, and invoked the Holy Spirit. He did not then choose to take the whole army of the allies with him, which had been reviewed the day before, both on account of the difficulty which there would be to maintain so numerous an army in Tezeuco, and because he thought it necessary to leave the greater part of them in Tlascala to guard the brigantines, when it should be time to transport them. Of the three roads, which led to Tezeuco, Cortes chose the most difficult, being wisely persuaded that the Mexicans would not expect him there, and his march would consequently be more safe. He proceeded therefore by Tetzmellocan, a village belonging to the state of Huexotzinco. On the 30th, they discovered, from the highest summit of those mountains, the beautiful vale of Mexico, partly with gladness, because there lay the object of their desires; partly with some disgust, from the remembrance of their disasters. In beginning to descend towards that vale, they found the way obstructed with trunks and branches of trees laid across it designedly, and were obliged to employ a thousand Tlascalans to clear it. As soon as they reached the plain, they were attacked by some flying troops of the enemy; but upon some of them being killed by the Spaniards, the rest fled. That night they quartered in Coatepec, a place about eight miles distant from Tezeuco; and the day following, as they were marching towards that capital, in some doubt and anxiety concerning the disposition of the Tezeucans, but at the same time resolved not to return without having taken some revenge of their enemies, they saw coming to them four respectable persons unarmed, one of them with a little golden flag in his hand; and Cortes recollecting that this was an ensign of peace, he advanced to confer with them. These four messengers were sent by king Coanacotzin to compliment the Spanish general, to invite him to the court, and to request him not to com-

mit any hostilities in his states, which presented him the flag, containing thirty-two ounces of gold. Cortes, notwithstanding this shew of friendship, reproached them for the death they had a few months before been the cause of to forty-five Spaniards, five horses, and three hundred Tascalans, who accompanied them loaded with gold, silver, and arms for the Spaniards who were then in Mexico, and executed with such inhumanity, that they had hung up the skins of the Spaniards, with their arms and habits, and those of the horses with their armour, as trophies in the temples of Tezcuco. He added, that although it was impossible to compensate the loss of his people, they must at least pay the gold and silver which they had robbed from them; that if they did not make the due satisfaction, he would, for every Spaniard they had killed, slay a thousand Tezcucans, under whose orders the Zoltepechese had acted, were blameable for that; but, notwithstanding, they would use every endeavour to make all be restored to him; and having taken polite leave of the Spanish general, returned in haste to Tezcuco with the news of the near arrival of the Spaniards at that court.

Cortes entered with his army into Tezcuco, on the last day of that year. Some nobles came out to meet him, and conducted him to one of the palaces of the late king Nezahualcojotl, which was so large, that not only the six hundred Spaniards were lodged in it, but, according to what Cortes says, it could have accommodated six hundred more. That general soon perceived the concourse of people in the streets remarkably diminished, as he thought he did not see the third part of the inhabitants which he had seen upon former occasions, and particularly observed that the women and children were out of the way, which was a manifest token of some evil disposition in that court. In order to lessen the distrust of the citizens, and avoid any accident to his own people, he published a proclamation, in which he forbid, under pain of death, any of his soldiers to leave their quarters without his permission. After dinner, they observed from the terraces of the palace a great number of people abandoning the city, some withdrawing to the neighbouring woods, and others to different places around the lake. The night following, the king Coanacotzin absented, transporting himself to Mexico

SECT. II.
Entry of the
Spaniards into
Tezcuco,
and revolutions
in that
court.

BOOK X. ~~by water~~, in spite of Cortes, who designed to have taken him, as he had formerly done his three brothers Cacamatzin, Cuicuitzcatzin, and Ixtlilxochitl. Coanacotzin could not pursue any other measure; for how was it possible he could think himself secure among the Spaniards, after having seen what had happened to his brothers, and Montezuma his uncle? And particularly being apprehensive that many of his own subjects would take occasion to declare themselves his enemies, some from their fear of the Spaniards, or the particular interest of their families; others, to revenge the death of Cuicuitzcatzin, and place Ixtlilxochitl on the throne.

The revolutions which happened in that court sufficiently justified the resolution he formed. Cortes was hardly three days in Tezeuco, when the lords of Huexotla, Coatlichan, and Atenco, three cities so near, as we have already mentioned, to Tezeuco, that they appeared like its suburbs, presented themselves to him, intreating him to accept their alliance and friendship. Cortes, who desired nothing more earnestly than to augment his party, received them kindly, and promised his protection. The court of Mexico, as soon as it knew of this change, sent a severe reprimand to those lords, telling them, that if their motive for adopting so base a measure was the fear which they had of the power of their enemies, it was fit for them also to know, that the Mexicans had still greater forces, by which they would soon see the Spaniards, with their favourite allies the Tlascalans, totally crushed; that if they had been obliged to it, for the interest of the states and possessions which they owned in Tezeuco, they might come to Mexico, where they would be assigned better lands. But those lords, instead of being intimidated with the reprimand, or yielding to the promises made them, seized the messengers, and sent them to Cortes. He demanded of them the purport of their embassy? To which they answered, that as they knew those lords to be in his favour, they had come to intreat them to be mediators for peace between the Mexicans and the Spaniards. Cortes affected to believe what they told him, set them at liberty, and charged them to tell their sovereign, that he did not wish for war, nor would not wage it, if he was not compelled by hostilities from the Mexicans; that therefore the king should attend, and guard against offering any injury to the Spaniards,

otherwise they would become his enemies, and infallibly ruin his capital. BOOK X.

The alliance of those cities was of no small importance to Cortes, but of all things it was most necessary to bring that court in his favour, both on account of the numerous nobility which it contained, and their influence on the other cities of the kingdom. From the first moment he entered that city he studied to gain their minds by every civility and courtesy, and enjoined the same thing to his people, forbidding most severely all kinds of hostility towards the citizens. He discovered, from the beginning, a party of the nobility favourable to the prince Ixtlixochitl, whom he still kept confined for some purpose in Tlascala. He made him be brought to court by a strong party of Spaniards and Tlascalans, presented him to the nobility, and got them to acknowledge him king, and crown him with the same ceremonies and rejoicings usually made for their lawful sovereign. Cortes promoted his advancement as much to revenge himself of the lawful king Coanacotzin, as because the kingdom was dependent upon him. The people accepted him, either because they durst not oppose the Spaniards, or perhaps because they were tired of the government of Coanacotzin. Ixtlixochitl was a youth of about twenty-three years; from the time of the first entry of the Spaniards into Tlascala he had declared himself openly for the Spaniards, had presented himself to Cortes with offers of his army, and invited him to make his journey to Mexico by Otompan, where he was then encamped; but, in spite of his friendly intentions and obsequiousness, he was made prisoner by the Spaniards, when they came off in defeat from Mexico, and was confined in Tlascala until he was called to the throne. The circumstances of this event makes us believe, that his imprisonment was an honourable oppression of his liberty, coloured with one of those specious pretexts, which are usually invented by artful politicians, when, on account of some particular diffidence and distrust, they wish to render themselves secure. From long habit with the Spaniards he had become familiarised with their customs and manners. On the throne he had but the appearance of majesty; he was much less the lord of his subjects than minister of the pleasure of the Spaniards, to whom he rendered great services, not only in the conquest of Mexico, in which he

BOOK X. served with his person and troops, but also in the rebuilding of that capital, for which he furnished some thousands of architects, masons, and labourers. He died extremely young, in 1523, and was succeeded in the sovereignty of Tezcuco by his brother Don Carlos, of whom afterwards we shall make honourable mention. By the advancement of Ixtlilxochitl, and the civilities shewn him by Cortes, the party of the Spaniards was considerably augmented, and all those families of Tezcuco which had absented from fear of hostilities from those strangers, finding themselves now secure, gladly returned to their houses.

Cortes was resolved to keep his quarters in Tezcuco, and had therefore busied himself in fortifying the royal palace, where his troops were lodged. He could not take any measure more conducive to his purposes. Tezcuco, the capital of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and a city of great extent, abounded with every sort of provision for the support of an army. It had good houses for their habitations, excellent fortifications for their defence, and plenty of artificers for every kind of labour they required. The dominions of Tezcuco also, from bordering on those of Tlascala, rendered the necessary communication with that republic more easy; the neighbourhood of the lake was of great importance for the construction of the brigantines, and the advantageous situation of that court gave the Spaniards a knowledge of all the movements of their enemies, without exposing them to their attacks.

SECT. III.
Dangerous
expedition
against Izta-
palapan.

After having arranged matters in Tezcuco, Cortes resolved to make an assault on the city of Iztapalapan, to revenge himself upon it and its citizens, for the offences received from their ancient lord Cuitlahuatzin, whom he knew to be the author of the memorable defeat of the first of July. He left a garrison of more than three hundred Spaniards, and many allies, under the command of Sandoval, in Tezcuco, and marched himself with upwards of two hundred Spaniards, and more than three thousand Tlascalans, and a great many of the Tezcuacan nobility. Before they arrived at Iztapalapan, they were met by some troops of the enemy, who feigned to oppose their entry, fighting partly on land, and partly by water, but retiring as they fought, with a shew of not being able to withstand the attack. The Spaniards and Tlas-

calans thus employed in driving the enemy before them, entered the city, the houses of which they found in a great measure unpeopled, the citizens having withdrawn with their wives and children, and the greater part of their goods, to the houses which they had upon the little islands in the lake; but there they were pursued by their enemies, who fought also in the water. The night was now well advanced, and the Spaniards, who were rejoicing at the victory which they believed they had obtained, were busied in sacking the city, and the Tlascalans were setting fire to the houses; but their gladness soon changed into terror, for by the same light of the burning of the city, they observed the water overflow the canals, and begin to lay the city under water. As soon as the danger was discovered, a retreat was sounded, and the city was in haste abandoned, in order to return to Tezcuco; but in spite of their diligence they came to a place where there was so much water that the Spaniards passed it with difficulty, and some of the Tlascalans were drowned, and the greatest part of the booty lost. Not one of them would have escaped with life, if, as Cortes affirms, they had continued three hours longer in the city; for the citizens, in order to drown all their enemies, broke the mole of the lake, and entirely deluged the city. The next day they continued their march along the lake, still harrassed by the enemy. This expedition did not prove very agreeable to the Spaniards; but although they lost their plunder, and many were wounded, only two Spaniards and one horse died. The loss of the enemy was a great deal more; for, besides the ruin of their houses, upwards of six thousand of them, agreeable to the account made by Cortes, were slain.

The disgust which this expedition gave to Cortes was soon compensated by the obedience which he received by means of their ambassadors from the cities of Mizquic, Otompan, and others in that quarter, alledging, in order to obtain his favour, that those states having been solicited by the Mexicans to take arms against the Spaniards, would never consent. Cortes, who was continually increasing his authority, the more he augmented his party, required from them, as a necessary condition for the obtainment of his alliance, that they should seize all the messengers which were sent to them from Mexico, and all the Mexicans who arrived at their cities. They, though not without the greatest

SECT. IV.
New confederacies with
the Spaniards.

BOOK X. difficulty, bound themselves to do so, and from that time forward were constantly faithful to the Spaniards.

This confederacy was immediately followed by that with Chalco, a considerable city and state on the eastern border of the lake of Sweet Water; for Cortes, knowing that the Chalchese were disposed to adhere to his party, but dared not declare themselves for fear of the Mexican garrison in their state, sent Sandoval there with twenty horses, two hundred Spanish infantry, and a number of allies; but, previously, he ordered some Tlascalan troops to march, who were desirous of carrying home to their own country that part of the booty which they had brought off from Iztapalapan, and from thence to return towards Chalco, and drive the Mexicans from that state. Sandoval gave the van-guard to the Tlascalans; some Mexican troops, who were in ambush, charged suddenly upon them, threw them into disorder, killed some of them, and took their booty; but the Spaniards coming up, defeated the Mexicans, and put them to flight. Having recovered their booty, the Tlascalans continued their journey in safety, and Sandoval marched towards Chalco; but long before he arrived at the city, the greatest part of the Mexican garrison came to meet him, which, as some historians affirm, consisting of twelve thousand men. A battle was fought, which lasted two hours, and concluded with the slaughter of many Mexicans, and the flight of the rest. The Chalchese, apprised of the victory, came with great rejoicing to meet the Spaniards, and introduced them in triumph into their city (*e*). The lord of that state, who had died a short time before of the small-pox, had, in the last moments of his life, warmly recommended it to his two sons to confederate with the Spaniards, to cultivate their friendship, and adopt Cortes for a father. In consequence of his last desire, those two youths repaired to Tezcucuo, accompanied by the Spanish army, and many Chalchese nobles, presented the value of one hundred and fifty sequins in gold to Cortes, and established the alliance, to which they were always faithful. The

(*e*) Solis, in his account of this event, commits two geographical errors: first, he supposes the city of Chalco contiguous to Otompan, whereas the court of Tezcucuo, and other considerable cities of the kingdom of Acolhuacan are between them, as we have shewn in our geographical chart of the Mexican lakes. Secondly, he says, that the states of Chalco and Tlascala bordered upon each other, whereas there is a wood of fifteen miles long, and a part of the dominions of Iluexotzinco between them.

cause of rebellion, so frequent among the people of that empire, was in some the fear of the Spanish arms, and the power of their allies; and in others, their hatred to, and impatience under, the Mexican yoke. It is impossible to expect constant fidelity from subjects who are rather influenced by terror than kindness. No throne can be more unstable than that which is supported by force of arms more than by the love of the people. Cortes, after caressing the two Chalchese youths, divided the state between them, either at their own request, or the suggestions of the nobility. He conferred on the eldest the principal city, and some other places; and on the youngest he settled Tlalmanalco, Chimalhuaca. and Ajotzinco.

The Mexicans did not cease to make incursions into the states which had confederated with the Spaniards, but the diligence used by Cortes in sending succour to them, made their attempts generally fruitless. Amongst others, the Chalchese came in the space of a few days to request the assistance of the Spaniards; for they had learned that the Mexicans were preparing to strike a severe blow upon that state which had recently renounced subjection to them. Cortes could not at this time comply with their demand; for having now finished all the labour of the masts, the planks, and other apparatus of the brigantines, he had occasion for all his troops to transport them safely to Tezcuco. He advised the Chalchese, however, to make an alliance with the Huexotzincas, the Cholulans, and the Quauhquechollans. They objected to such a confederacy, on account of their ancient enmity to those people. The Chalchese were hardly departed, when three messengers came seasonably to Tezcuco from Huexotzinco and Quauhquechollan, sent by those lords to express their apprehensions, on account of certain smoke, observed by the centinels whom they had posted on the tops of the mountains, which was a strong indication of war, and to offer their troops to his command whenever he chose to make use of them. Cortes availed himself of this favourable opportunity to unite those states in alliance with that of Chalco, obliging them to lay aside for their common benefit any resentment subsisting between individuals. This alliance was so firm, that from that time forward they mutually assisted each other against the Mexicans.

BOOK X.

SECT. V.
 Transport of
 the materials
 of the bri-
 gantines.

It being now time to transport the timber, sails, cordage, and iron, for the brigantines, Cortes sent Sandoval, with two hundred Spaniards and fifteen horses for that purpose, charging him to go first to Zoltepec, and take ample revenge on those citizens for the slaughter of the forty-five Spaniards and three hundred Tlascalans, of whom we have already made mention. The Zoltepecchese, when they perceived this storm coming upon them, deserted their houses to save their lives by flight, but they were pursued by the Spaniards, and many of them killed, and others made slaves. From thence Sandoval marched to Tlascala, where he found every thing ready for the transport of the finished materials of the brigantines. The first brigantine was built by Martino Lopez, a Spanish soldier, who was an engineer in the army of Cortes, and was put to proof in the river Zahuapan. After that model the other twelve were built by the Tlascalans. The transport of them was executed with great rejoicing and expedition by the Tlascalans, the load appearing to them of little weight, which was to contribute to the ruin of their enemies. Eight thousand Tlascalans carried on their backs the beams, sails, and other materials, necessary for the construction of the brigantines; two thousand were loaded with provisions, and thirty thousand were armed for defence, under the command of the three chief Chichimecatl or Chichimecateuctli, Ajo-tecatl, and Teotepil or Teotlipil. This convoy occupied, according to Bernal Diaz, upward of six miles of space, from van to rear. When they set out from Tlascala, Chichimecatl commanded the van-guard, but whenever they got without the dominions of the republic, Sandoval gave him the rear-guard, fearing some attack from the enemy. This occasioned great disgust to the Tlascalan, who boasted of his bravery, alledging, that in all the battles in which he had ever been concerned, he had always, in example of his ancestors, taken the most dangerous post; and Sandoval was obliged to make use of arguments and entreaties to pacify him. Cortes, arrayed in his most splendid apparel, and accompanied by all his officers, came to meet them, and embraced and thanked those Tlascalan lords for their kind services. Six hours were spent in entering into Tezeuco in the best order, and

with the cry of *Castile! Castile! Tlascalala! Tlascalala!* in the midst of the noise of the military music.

The general Chichimecatl was hardly arrived, when, without taking any rest after the fatigue of his journey, he requested Cortes to employ him and his troops against the enemy. Cortes, who waited for nothing else than the arrival of the auxiliary troops of Tlascalala, to execute an expedition which he had been meditating for some time, after leaving a strong garrison in Tezcuco, and giving the proper orders for the completing of the brigantines, set out on his march in the beginning of spring 1521, with twenty-five horses, and six small pieces of artillery, three hundred and fifty Spaniards, thirty thousand Tlascalalans, and a part of the Tezcuacan nobility; and because he was afraid that the Tezcuicans, whom he did not altogether trust, might give secret advice to the enemy and frustrate his designs, he left Tezcuco without publishing the object of his expedition. The army travelled twelve miles towards the north, and remained that night under the open sky. The next day it proceeded to attack Xaltocan, a strong city situated in the middle of a lake, with a road leading to it, cut like those of Mexico, with several ditches. The Spanish infantry, assisted by a considerable number of the allies, passed the ditches, through a thick shower of darts, arrows, and stones, by which many were wounded; but the citizens not being able to endure longer the slaughter which the Spanish arms made of them, abandoned the city, and saved themselves by flight. The conquerors plundered the city, and set fire to some of the houses.

The day following they proceeded towards the large and beautiful city of Quauhtitlan, as Cortes justly calls it, but they found it depopulated; the citizens having been terrified by what had happened to Xaltocan, and betaken themselves to some place of security.

From thence they passed to Tenajocca, and to Azcapzalco, and because they met with no resistance from any of those three cities they did them no hurt. At last they came to the court of Tlacopan, the limit which Cortes had proposed to himself for the expedition, where he meant to solicit some accommodation with the court of Mexico, and if that should not succeed, to inform himself in the neighbourhood of its designs and preparations. He found the citizens of that

BOOK X.

SECT. VI.
Expedition
against the
cities of Xal-
tocan and
Tlacopan.

BOOK X. place disposed to dispute his entrance. They attacked the Spaniards with their usual fury, and fought courageously for some time; but at length, becoming unable to withstand the fire of their guns, and the impetuosity of the horses, they retreated to the city. The Spaniards, on account of its being late, lodged in a large house of the suburbs. The next day the Tlascalans set fire to many houses of the city, and, during six days, which the Spaniards remained there, they had continual skirmishes, and some famous duels were fought between the Tlascalans and the citizens of Tlacopan; but they both fought with extreme bravery, and vented the hatred which they bore each other in a thousand reproaches. Those of Tlacopan called the Tlascalans the damsels of the Spaniards, without whose protection they never would have dared to advance so near to that city. The Tlascalans answered in their turn, that the Mexicans, and all their partizans, rather ought to have the name of women given them; being so superior in number, and yet never able to subdue the Tlascalans. The Spaniards themselves did not escape from insults of this kind. They were ironically invited to enter Mexico to command there like lords, and to enjoy all the pleasures of life. "Do you think Christian," they said to Cortes, "that things will go on in the same way as they did last time? Perhaps you imagine there is another Montezuma reigning in Mexico devoted to your pleasures? Enter, enter the court, where you will all be made a sacrifice to the gods." During the engagements, which they had in those six days, the Spaniards entered that fatal road and approached to those memorable ditches, where, nine months before, they had been so cruelly defeated. They found there a terrible resistance, and in an instant they apprehended to be utterly destroyed; for by being busied in pursuing some Mexiean troops who had come designedly to insult them, and lead them into danger, they found themselves unexpectedly attacked, from both quarters on the road, by such a numerous enemy, that they with difficulty retreated, combating most furiously until they came to the main land. In this conflict five Spaniards were killed and many wounded. Of the Mexicans, many were slain in this and the other engagements. Cortes, disgusted with the ill success of his expedition, returned with his army by the same road to Tezcuco, suffering new insults from the enemy in his

march, who ascribed his retreat to fear and cowardice. The Tlascalans, who accompanied the Spaniards in their expedition, having amassed a large quantity of spoils, demanded permission of Cortes to carry them into their own country, which was readily granted.

Sandoval, who, in the absence of Cortes, had taken care of that post, departed from it two days after the arrival of that general with twenty horses, three hundred Spaniards, and a great number of allies, to the succour of the Chalchese, who were apprehensive of a strong assault from the Mexicans; but having found a great number of the troops of Huextotzinco and Quauhquechollan, who were come to their assistance, and knowing that the greatest damage was done to that city by the Mexicans, who were in the garrison of Huaxtepec, a city situated in the mountains, fifteen miles to the southward of Chalco, he proceeded there. On their march they were attacked by two great bodies of the enemy, but they quickly defeated them; this was owing in a great measure to the immense multitude of allies, whom the Spaniards took with them. They entered into Huaxtepec, and lodged themselves in some great houses of that city, to rest themselves, and cure their wounded; but immediately they had a new assault from the Mexicans, and were compelled to take up arms again to repulse them. Having defeated and pursued them upwards of three miles, until they were entirely routed, they returned to the city, where they halted two days. Huaxtepec was a city at that time famous not only for its excellent manufactures of cotton, but also for its wonderful garden, of which we have already made mention.

From Huaxtepec Sandoval sent messengers to offer peace to the inhabitants of Jacapichtla, a very strong place about six miles distant, situated on the top of a mountain, almost inaccessible to cavalry, and defended by a competent garrison of Mexicans; but his proposals being rejected, he marched towards that city, determined to strike a blow there, which would humble their pride, and for ever deliver the Chalchese from the evils which harrassed them continually from that quarter. The Tlascalans, and other allies, were intimidated by the sight of so much difficulty and danger; but Sandoval, animated by that great spirit which displayed itself in all his actions, resolved to conquer or die. He began to ascend with his infantry, having to surmount at the same time both the ruggedness of the mountain, and the multitude of

BOOK X. the enemy, who defended it with a shower of darts, and stones, some of which were of immoderate size, and although they broke in falling on the rocks between, wounded the Spaniards with the fragments; but nothing could restrain them from entering the city bathed in sweat and blood, after which example the allies did the same. The fatigue and their wounds inflamed their indignation so much, that they attacked the enemy with the utmost fury; who, to escape from their swords, fled down the precipices of the mountain. So much blood was spilt, that it purpled a little stream which ran there, and changed its waters so, that for more than an hour the conquerors could not use it to quench the thirst which distressed them (*f*); "This," says Cortes, "was one of the most signal victories, in which the Spaniards gave the strongest proofs of their courage and constancy." This day cost the life of Gonzalo Dominguez, one of the bravest soldiers Cortes had, and whose loss was most sensibly felt by them all.

The Mexicans were so enraged at the slaughter committed at Jacapichtla, that they sent twenty thousand armed men, in two thousand vessels, against Chalco. The Chalchese implored, as before, the assistance of the Spaniards, and their messengers arrived just as Sandoval returned from Jacapichtla, with his army fatigued, exhausted, and wounded. Cortes, ascribing too inconsiderately those repeated hostilities of the Mexicans against the Chalchese to some neglect of that unparalleled commander, without first enquiring into his conduct, hearing, or allowing him a moment of repose, commanded him to march immediately to Chalco with the soldiers who were least wounded, to the assistance of those allies. Sandoval was extremely disgusted with the slight offered him by his general, at the time he ought rather to have expected the greatest praises; but he had as much prudence in dissembling his sense of this injury, and as much readiness to obey, as he had shewn courage in that arduous enterprize. He set out without delay for

(*f*) Bernal Diaz ridicules Gomara for this account of the waters having been so discoloured with blood: but Diaz was not present at this expedition, and we ought therefore to give more faith to Cortes, who says, the slaughter which the Spaniards made of the enemy, and which the enemy made of themselves by precipitating themselves from that eminence, was so great, that all who were present affirm, that a little river which surrounded almost all that place, remained for upwards of an hour so tinged with blood that they could not drink of it.

Chalco; but when he arrived there, he found the battle over, in which the Chalchese remained victorious, with the assistance of their new allies of Heuxotzinco and Quauhquechollan; and although they sustained a considerable loss, they killed a number of the enemy, and made forty prisoners, among whom were a general of the army and two persons of the first nobility, who were consigned by the Chalchese to Sandoval, and by him sent to Cortes. This general having discovered his error, and being well informed of the irreprehensible conduct of Sandoval, endeavoured to appease his just resentment by particular marks of honour and esteem.

Cortes being desirous of an accommodation with the court of Mexico, both in order to avoid the fatigue and distresses of war, and to make himself master of so beautiful a city without ruining it, resolved to send those two persons, who were prisoners, with a letter to king Quauhquemotzin; which, although it could not be understood by the court, as they were totally ignorant of the characters of it, would however be a credential and token of his embassy. He explained the contents of the letter to the messengers, and charged them to represent to their sovereign, that he pretended to nothing more than that the king of Spain should be acknowledged lord of that land, agreeable to what had been granted by the Mexican nobility in that respectable assembly which was held in Mexico, in presence of Montezuma; that they should remember the homage which the Mexican lords then did to the great monarch of the East; that he wished to establish a peace, and to make a perpetual alliance with them, and was not disposed to war, unless constrained to it by their hostilities; that it would grieve him to spill so much Mexican blood, and destroy such a large and beautiful city; that they themselves were witnesses of the bravery of the Spaniards, the superiority of their arms, the multitude of their allies, and the success of their enterprizes; that they should finally reflect within themselves, and not oblige, by their obstinacy, a war to be continued to the utter ruin of the court and the empire.

The fruit of this embassy was soon discovered in the lamentations of the Chalchese, who, knowing of the great force which was levying against their state, came to implore the assistance of the Spaniards; shewing to Cortes, painted on a cloth, the cities which were arming

BOOK X.

SECT. VIII.
Fruitless negotiation of Cortes with the court of Mexico.

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

BOOK X. against them, by order of the king, and the routes which they were to take. While Cortes was preparing his troops for this expedition, messengers arrived at Tezcuco from Tuzapan, Mexicatztinco, and Nauhtlan, cities situated on the coast of the Mexican gulf beyond the colony of Vera Cruz, to offer obedience in the name of their chiefs to the king of Spain.

SECT. IX.
March of the
Spanish ar-
my through
the southern
mountains.

On the fifth of April Cortes set out from Tezenco, with thirty horses, three hundred Spanish infantry, and twenty thousand allies, leaving the command of that place, and the care of the brigantines to Sandoval. He went strait to Tlalmanalco, and from thence to Chimalhuacan (g), where he increased his army with other twenty thousand men, and who, to revenge themselves on the Mexicans, or from the hopes of spoil, or from both motives, came from different places to serve in that war. Directing his way according to the route marked in the Chalchese paintings, he travelled through the southern mountains towards Huaxtepec; he saw near to the road, a steep mountain, the top of which was occupied by a vast number of women and children, and the sides by innumerable warriors, who, trusting to the natural strength of that place, made game of the Spaniards, with howling and whistling. Cortes, unable to endure this mockery, attacked the mountain on three sides; but they were hardly begun to ascend with the greatest difficulty through a shower of darts and stones, than he ordered a retreat; for, besides that, he perceived the attempt to be rash, and more dangerous than fruitful, an army of the enemy came in sight, marching towards the same place, with an intent to attack the Spaniards behind, when they were most engaged in the assault. Cortes immediately made against them, with his troops well formed. The battle lasted a short time, for the enemy soon finding their inferiority of strength, quickly abandoned the field. The Spaniards pursued them upwards of an hour and a half, until they were entirely routed. The loss of the Spaniards on this occasion was almost nothing, but in the assault of the mountain, eight were killed, and many of them wounded.

(g) There were, and still are, two places of this name; the one situated upon the border of the lake of Tezcuco, close to the peninsula of Iztapalapan, and called simply *Chimalhuacan*; the other, which is in the mountains to the southward of the vale of Mexico, is called *Chimalhuacan Chalco*; and it was to this last place that Cortes went.

The thirst which distressed the army, and the intimation which Cortes had of another mountain three miles off similarly occupied, forced him to march towards that part. He observed on one side of the mountain two lofty rocks, defended by many warriors; but they, thinking that the Spaniards would attempt the assault on the side opposite, abandoned the rocks, and repaired where they apprehended most danger. Cortes, who knew well how to profit by all conjunctures which either fortune, or the imprudence of his enemies presented, ordered one of his captains to endeavour to occupy one of the rocks with a competent number of men, while he employed the besieged on the opposite quarter. He began then to ascend, though not without the utmost difficulty; but when he had reached a post as high as that taken by the enemy, he saw the Spanish flag hoisted upon one of the rocks. The enemy finding themselves attacked on both sides, and having already begun to feel the loss which the fire-arms occasioned among them, surrendered. Cortes treated them with the utmost humanity; but demanded from them, as a condition necessary to obtain his pardon, that they should induce those also who occupied the first mountain to surrender also, which they accordingly did.

Cortes, finding these obstacles removed, proceeded through Huaxtepec, Jauhtepec, and Xiultepec, to the large and pleasant city of Quauhnahuac (*h*), the capital of the nation of the Tlahuicas, upwards of thirty miles distant from Mexico, towards the south. This city was very strong from its natural situation; being on one side surrounded by steep mountains, and on the other by a hollow about seven perches deep, through which ran a little river. The cavalry could not enter there except by two ways, which were unknown to the Spaniards, or by the bridges which had been raised as soon as they had appeared. While they were seeking a convenient place to begin the assault, the Quauhnahuachese shot an incredible number of arrows, darts, and stones at

SECT. X.
Conquest of
Quauhna-
huac.

(*h*) The name Quauhnahuac has been strangely altered by the Spaniards: Cortes calls this city *Coadnabaced*, Bernal Diaz *Coadalbacá*, Solís *Quatlabaca*, &c. That of *Cucinahuaca* prevailed afterwards, by which it is known among the Spaniards at present; but the Indians still retain the old name Quauhnahuac. It is one of the thirty places which Charles V. gave to Cortes, and is at present part of the estates of the duke of Monteleón, as marquis of the valley of Oaxaca.

BOOK X. them. But a courageous Tlascalan having observed, that two great trees, which grew on the opposite sides of the hollow inclining towards each other, had crossed and mutually interwoven their branches, he made a bridge of them to pass to the other side; and his example was quickly followed, though with great difficulty and with great danger, by six Spanish soldiers, and afterwards by many Spaniards and Tlascalans (*i*). This act of intrepidity so intimidated those who defended the assault in that quarter, that they immediately retreated, and went to join the other citizens, who, at another part of the city, were opposing the troops led by Cortes; but while most employed in the defence, they found themselves unexpectedly attacked by those troops, who, following that courageous Tlascalan, were now entered by the undefended part into the city. Terror made the citizens give up resistance, and put them to flight precipitately through the mountains; while the allies, without any opposition, burned a great part of the city. The lord of it, who had fled with the rest, fearing to be overtaken in the mountains by the Spaniards, took occasion to surrender himself, declaring that he had not done it before because he waited till the rage of the Spaniards should be exhausted on the city, and by being satisfied with other hostilities, might abstain from treating his person cruelly.

SECT. XI.
Conquest of
Nochimilco.

After some repose the army left Quauhnahuac, loaded with spoils, directing their way towards the north, through a large wood of pines, where they endured a great thirst, and the day following found themselves near the city of Nochimilco. This beautiful city, the largest next to the three royal residences of all those in the Mexican vale, was founded upon the border of the lake of Chalco, a little more than twelve miles distant from the capital: its inhabitants were numerous, its temples many, its buildings magnificent, and its gardens floating on the lake singularly beautiful, from whence it took its name of Xo-

(*i*) Solis, without making mention of that Tlascalan, attributes all the glory of that action to Bernal Diaz; in which particular he contradicts Cortes, and other historians. Bernal Diaz himself, who, in the relation of this event, does himself all the honour he can, boasts of having been one of those who did not regard the risk of their lives, and passed the depth on the branches of the trees; but by no means takes the honour to himself of having been the first who passed or suggested the attempt.

Xochimilco (*k*): it had, like the capital, many canals or ditches, and for fear of the Spaniards, they had now several entrenchments. As soon as they saw the enemy approach, they raised the bridges of the canals, to make the entry more difficult. The Spaniards divided their army into three squadrons, to attack the city by as many places, but every where they met with a stout resistance, and could not take the first ditch until after a terrible engagement of more than half an hour, in which two Spaniards were killed and many wounded; but having at last overcome those obstacles, they entered the city, pursuing the inhabitants, who persevered till night, fighting in the vessels in which they had made their retreat. They frequently heard voices among the combatants who demanded peace, but the Spaniards understanding that those cries were made with no other view than to gain time to place their families and goods in security, and to receive the succour which they expected from Mexico, pressed them still harder; until, finding all resistance dropt, they retired to repose and cure the wounded: but they had hardly began to draw their breath a little, when they saw themselves attacked by a great number of enemies, who came formed in order of battle by the same road by which the Spaniards had entered. They were now reduced to great difficulties, and Cortes himself was in imminent danger of becoming a prisoner of the enemy; for his horse having fallen from fatigue, as he says, or being cut down by the blows from the Xochimilcas, as some historians report, he continued fighting on foot with his lance; but being overpowered by the enemy, he would not have been able to have saved himself from ruin, if a brave Tlascalan (*l*), and after him two of his own servants, had not seasonably come to his relief.

The Xochimilcas being at last defeated, the Spaniards had leisure to repose a little after the fatigues of the day, in which some of their soldiers had been killed, and almost all of them wounded, and the general himself and the principal officers Alvarado and Olid among the rest.

(*k*) *Xochimilco* means gardens and fields of flowers.

(*l*) Herrera and Torquemada say, that the day after the great hazard Cortes had been in of being made prisoner, he sought for the Tlascalan who had rescued him, but could not find him either dead or alive; on which account, from the devotion which the general paid to St. Peter, he became persuaded that, that apostle had been the person who saved him.

BOOK X. Four Spaniards, made prisoners, were conducted to the capital, and sacrificed without delay, and their arms and legs sent to different places to encourage the subjects against the enemies of the state. It is beyond a doubt, that on this, as well as on other occasions, Cortes might easily have been put to death by the enemy, if they had not had so much anxiety to take him alive to sacrifice him to their gods.

The news of the taking of Xochimilco threw the court of Mexico into great consternation. King Quauhtemotzin assembled some military chiefs, and represented to them the loss and danger occasioned to Mexico by the capture of so considerable a place, the service they would render their gods and the nation in retaking it, and the courage and strength which was necessary to overcome those daring and destructive strangers. They immediately gave orders, therefore, to raise an army of twelve thousand men, to be sent by land, and another to be sent by water; which were so speedily executed, that the Spaniards had hardly reposed after the fatigues of the preceding day, when Cortes was advised by his centinels of the march of the Mexicans towards that city. This general divided his army into three divisions, and gave his captains the necessary orders; he left some troops to garrison the quarters, and commanded that twenty horse with five hundred Tascalans should pass across the enemy's front, to occupy a neighbouring little mountain, and wait there his final orders for the attack. The Mexican commanders advanced full of pride, making great ostentation of some European swords which had been taken from the Spaniards on the night of the first of July. The battle was begun without the city, and when it appeared proper time, Cortes ordered the troops posted on the little mountain to attack the rear of the Mexicans. They finding themselves attacked on every side, went into disorder and fled, leaving five hundred dead on the field. The Spaniards, on their return to their quarters, found that the body of men left there had been in great danger from the great number of Xochimileas who had encountered them. Cortes, after having been for three days in Xochimilco in frequent skirmishes with the enemy, made the temples and houses be set on fire, and went to the market-place, which was without the city, to order his people for their march. The Xochimileas being persuaded that his departure was the effect of fear, fell upon the rear-guard with

great clamour; but they were soon so severely repulsed by the Spaniards, that they never dared again to attack them.

Cortes advanced with his army as far as Cojohuacan, a large city situated upon the bank of the lake, six miles distant from Mexico, towards the south, with a view to observe all those posts, and make the fitter dispositions for the siege of the capital. He found the city evacuated, and the next day he set out from it, to examine the road which led from that city to the road of Iztapalapan. He found an entrenchment made there by the Mexicans, and ordered his infantry to attack it, who, in spite of the terrible resistance of the enemy who defended it, took it; ten Spaniards being wounded, and some Mexicans killed. Cortes having mounted the trench, saw the road of Iztapalapan darkened with an innumerable enemy, and the lake covered with some thousands of boats, and after having observed every thing necessary to his purpose, he returned to the city, whose houses and temples he caused to be set on fire.

SECT. XII.
March of the
Spaniards
round the
lake to Tez-
cuco.

From Cojohuacan he marched the army to Tlacopan, though harassed on the way by some flying troops of the enemy, who attacked the baggage. In one of those scuffles, where Cortes was in great danger, they took two of his servants prisoners, who were conducted to Mexico, and immediately sacrificed. Cortes arrived at Tlacopan in affliction at this misfortune, but his displeasure was greatly increased when he beheld from the upper area of the greater temple of that court, along with some other Spaniards, that fatal road, wherein some months before he had lost so many of his friends and soldiers, and considered attentively the great difficulties which must be overcome before he could render himself master of the capital. Some of his officers suggested to him, to send his troops by that road to commit some hostilities on the Mexicans; but he did not chuse to expose them to so great risk; and, without remaining longer in that city, he returned by Tenajocan, Quauhtitlan, Citlaltepec, and Acolman, to Tezcucuo, having made a circuit in this expedition round all the lakes of the Mexican vale, and observed what efforts and exertions were necessary to execute the great enterprize in his mind with success.

In Tezcucuo Cortes continued all the preparations for the siege. The brigantines were equipped, and a canal formed, a mile and a half long,

SECT. XIII.
Conspiracy
against Cor-
tes.

BOOK X. sufficiently deep, and furnished on both sides with a fence, to receive the water of the lake, into which the brigantines were to be launched, and a machine constructed to launch them. The troops which Cortes had under his command were almost without number, and likewise that of the Spaniards was considerably augmented by some, who a few days before had arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, in a vessel from Spain, loaded with horses, arms, and ammunition. Every thing appeared to promise a happy issue, at the moment the enterprize was in the greatest danger of being totally frustrated and ruined. Some Spanish soldiers, partisans of the governor of Cuba, incited either to hatred of Cortes, or envious of his glory, or, what seems still as probable, from fear of the dangers which threatened them in the siege of the capital, secretly agreed to take away his life, and those of his captains, Alvarado, Sandoval, and Tapia, and all those who appeared to be most attached to the party of the general. The conspirators had not only determined the time and manner of securely executing the blow, but elected also those on whom the vacant posts of general, judge, and captains were to be conferred; when one of the accomplices, having repented of the deed, seasonably revealed the treason to Cortes. This general immediately made Antonio de Villafaña, the chief of the conspirators, be seized, committed his examination to a judge, and he having freely confessed the crime, was, according to justice, hanged from a window of the quarters. With respect to his accomplices, Cortes prudently dissembled, affecting not to believe them culpable, and ascribing the infamy imputed to them by the confession, to the malice of Villafaña; but, in order that in future he might not be exposed to so much risk of his life, he formed a body-guard of several soldiers, whose fidelity and courage he had tried, who attended him day and night, and watched continually over the safety of his person.

SECT. XIV.
The last preparation for the siege of Mexico.

Having thus crushed, by the punishment of the ringleader, that pernicious conspiracy, Cortes applied himself with the utmost activity to put the last hand to his great undertaking. On the twenty-eighth of April, after the celebration of the mass of the Holy Spirit, at which all the Spaniards communicated, and the brigantines were given benediction by a priest, they were launched into the water, and immediately displaying their sails, began to plough the lake under a discharge of the

artillery and small arms, which was followed by the singing of Te Deum to the music of military instruments. All those demonstrations of satisfaction were in consequence of the great confidence Cortes had in the brigantines for the success of his enterprize, without which perhaps he would never have been able to have conducted it to a happy end. He afterwards made a review of his army, and found it to consist of eighty-six horses, and more than eight hundred infantry, three large iron cannon, fifteen smaller of copper, a thousand Castilian pounds of gunpowder, and a large quantity of balls and arrows, the number and strength of his little army having been doubled by the supplies of that year from Spain and the Antilles. In order to encourage them, he made them an harangue similar to that which he had delivered to them when he left Tlascala. He sent messengers to this republic, to Cholula, Huexotzinco, and other cities; to let them know that the brigantines were now completed, and requesting them to send within ten days as many chosen troops as they could muster, for that now the time was come for giving siege to that proud city, which had for so many years oppressed their liberty. Five days before the feast of Pentecost, the army of Tlascala arrived at Tezcucó, consisting, according to what Cortes affirms, of more than fifty thousand men, under the command of several famous chiefs, among which came the young Xicotencatl and the brave Chichimecatl; who were met by Cortes and his people. The troops of Huexotzinco and Cholula passed thither through the mountains of Chalco, agreeable to the orders given them. In the two following days came other troops from Tlascala and other neighbouring places, which, together with those above-mentioned, made more than two hundred thousand men, as is attested by their leader and conductor Alfonso d'Ojeda.

On the Monday of Pentecost, twentieth of May, Cortes mustered his people in the greater market-place of Tezcucó, to make a division of his army, to appoint the commanders, to assign to each the station where they were to form their camp, and the troops which were to be immediately under them, and to publish afresh the military proclamation formerly published in Tlascala. He ordered Pedro de Alvarado to remain in camp in the city of Tlacopan, to prevent any assistance coming through that quarter to the Mexicans, and assigned him thirty horses

SECT. XV.
Disposition
of the army
in the siege of
the capital.

BOOK X.

and one hundred and sixty-eight foot soldiers, distributed into three companies under as many captains, with twenty thousand Tlascalans, and two pieces of artillery. Christopher Olid was created camp-master, and chief of the division destined for the city of Cojohuacan, and assigned thirty-three horses, one hundred and sixty-eight foot soldiers, under three other captains, with two pieces of artillery, and more than twenty-five thousand allies. To Gonzales de Sandoval he gave twenty-four horses, one hundred and sixty-three Spanish infantry, under two captains with two cannons, and the allies of Chalco, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, who were more than thirty thousand in number, and ordered him first to go and destroy the city of Iztapalapan, and then to encamp himself wherever he thought he could most effectually hem in the Mexicans. Cortes, in spite of the remonstrances made him by his captains and soldiers, took the command of the brigantines, where he thought his assistance would be most necessary. He distributed among the thirteen brigantines three hundred and twenty-five Spaniards and thirteen falconets, assigning to each brigantine a captain, twelve soldiers, and as many rowers; so that the whole army destined to begin the siege of the capital, consisted of nine hundred and seventeen Spaniards, and more than seventy-five thousand auxiliary troops (*m*); which number was soon after increased, as we shall find, to two hundred thousand and more. All the other troops which had repaired to Tezcuco, either remained there to be employed when it was necessary, or returned to their own places of abode, as they were not too distant from the capital to be speedily summoned whenever it was requisite.

SECT. XVI.
Punishment
of Xicotencatl.

Olid and Alvarado departed together with their troops from Tezcuco, to go to their respective posts assigned them by the general. Among the higher ranks of Tlascalans who accompanied Alvarado, were the young Xicotencatl, and his cousin Pilteuctli. In a quarrel which happened, the latter was wounded by a Spaniard, who, regardless of the orders published by the general, or the respect due to that person, was near occasioning the desertion of the Tlascalans. This outrage dis-

(*m*) Solis says, that Bernal Diaz complains often that the allies gave them more hindrance than assistance; but this is totally false, for Bernal Diaz on the contrary frequently says, that the allies were of great assistance, and fought courageously against the Mexicans; "The Tlascalans, our friends," he says, in chap. 151. "assisted us greatly during the whole war, like brave people."

gusted them extremely, and made them express their dissatisfaction in an open manner. Ojeda, their leader, endeavoured to pacify them, and gave permission to Pilteuctli to return to be cured in his native country. Xicotencatl, who, on account of his rank as well as his relation to Pilteuctli, was most sensible of the insult, finding no other way to be revenged, secretly abandoned the army, and, with some other Tlascalans, took the road to Tlascala. Alvarado gave immediate advice of this to Cortes, who ordered Ojeda to overtake and seize him; and after being taken made him be publicly hanged in the city of Tezcuco (*n*), as Herrera and Torquemada say, or in a place near to it as Bernal Diaz affirms; it having been first published by a herald, that the cause of his condemnation was his having deserted, and excited the Tlascalans against the Spaniards. It is probable that Cortes would not have risked the execution of such a sentence, if he had not first obtained, as Herrera expressly affirms, the consent of the senate of Tlascala; which was not difficult, considering their severity in punishing crimes even when committed by the most eminent persons, and the particular hatred also which they bore to that prince, whose pride and arrogance of character they could not endure. So alarming a punishment, which ought naturally to have inflamed the minds of the Tlascalans against the Spaniards, intimidated them to such a degree, as well as the other allies, that from that time forward they observed more punctually the articles of war, and kept under more subordination to those strangers who were their leaders; the Spaniards profiting even from their faults and misconduct: but the Tlascalans were not afraid to make many demonstrations of their esteem and veneration for that prince, bewailing his death and distributing his cloaths as precious relics among themselves, and celebrating, as is probable, his funeral with usual honours. The family and property of Xicotencatl were

(*n*) Cortes does not make mention of this event: it is probable he had particular motives for concealing it. Solis thinks it impossible that Xicotencatl was punished in Tezcuco; "Because Cortes would have risked too much by the execution of so violent a sentence under the eyes of so many Tlascalans, who would naturally have been shocked and disgusted at so ignominious a punishment being inflicted on one of the first men of their nation." But Cortes risked a great deal more, when he imprisoned Montezuma in his own court, and under the eyes of a much superior number of Mexicans, who must have been equally sensible of the outrage done to the first man of their nation.

BOOK X. adjudged to the king of Spain, and brought to Tezcuco. In his family were thirty wives, and amongst his property a large quantity of gold.

Alvarado and Olid continued their march towards Tlacopan, where their object was to break the aqueduct of Chapoltepec, to cut off the water from the Mexicans; but they were unable to execute this measure without surmounting a powerful resistance from the enemy, who, having foreseen the blow, had made preparations both by land and water for their defence. They were soon defeated, and the Tlascalans in pursuing them killed twenty, and made seven or eight prisoners.

SECT. XVII.
First hostilities of the Spaniards, and beginning of the siege of Mexico.

Having so successfully accomplished this step, those two commanders resolved to go by the way of Tlacopan, to take some ditch by assault; but so great was the multitude of Mexicans who came against them, and so thick the shower of arrows, darts, and stones, which were shot at them, that eight Spaniards were killed and more than fifty wounded, and they with difficulty were able to retreat in shame to Tlacopan, where Alvarado encamped, according to the order of the general, and Olid marched to Cojohuacan on the thirtieth day of May, consecrated that year to the solemnity of Corpus Domini, on which day began, according to the computation made by Cortes, the siege of Mexico.

While Alvarado and Olid were employed in filling up some ditches which were made upon the border of the lake; and were repairing some passages for the convenience of the cavalry, the commander Sandoval, with the number of Spaniards above mentioned, and with more than thirty-five thousand allies, marched from Tezcuco on the thirty-first of May, with an intent to take the city of Iztapalapan by assault, against which Cortes was particularly bent. Sandoval made his entry there, committing terrible devastation and havoc by fire upon the houses and by his arms upon the inhabitants, who in terror attempted to save their lives by water. Cortes, in order to attack at the same time that part of the city which was contiguous to the water, after having made the whole lake be sounded, embarked with his people in his brigantines, and proceeded by means of sails and oars towards Iztapalapan. He struck ground near to an insulated little mountain, at a small distance from that city, the top of which was occupied by a numerous enemy, resolved to defend themselves and annoy the Spaniards as much as pos-

sible. Cortes disembarked there, and, with one hundred and fifty men, surmounting the steepness and difficulty of the ascent and the resistance of the enemy, took the mount, and killed all the Mexicans who defended it. But they had hardly taken possession of it, when they perceived a fleet of boats coming against them, which had been summoned there by a signal of smoke, that, on the first appearance of the brigantines, was made from that little mountain, and from some temples in that neighbourhood. The Spaniards immediately re-embarked, and stood without moving, upon their defence, until at length being favoured with a fresh breeze which sprung up suddenly, and increasing the velocity of the brigantines, with the impulse of the oars, they rushed violently upon the boats, breaking some of them to pieces, and oversetting others. Some of the enemy were killed by balls, and many were drowned; all the others fled, and were pursued for eight miles by the brigantines, as far as the capital.

The commander Olid, as soon as he discovered from a temple of Cojohuacan the engagement of the brigantines, marched with his troops in order of battle along the road which led to Mexico, took some ditches and trenches, and killed a number of the enemy. Cortes, on his part, collected that night all his brigantines, and went with them to attack the bastion, which, as we have already mentioned, was erected in that angle which was formed by the junction of the road of Cojohuacan with the road of Iztapalapan. He made the attack by land as well as water, and in spite of the bravery by which it was defended by the Mexican garrison posted there, he took it, and made a horrid slaughter, with two large pieces of cannon, of the multitude which covered the lake as well as the road. That place, called by the Mexicans *Xoloc*, appeared extremely advantageous to Cortes for the establishment of his camp, and it certainly would not have been easy to have found another more suitable to his designs; for, by means of it, he became master of the principal road, and that part of the lake where the greatest succours could enter to the city, and besides that of the road of Cojohuacan which formed a communication with the camp of Olid. The small distance of that place from the camps of Cojohuacan and Tlacopan was of great importance to Cortes, in giving his orders with expe-

BOOK X. dition, and to render assistance when it proved necessary. In short, its vicinity to Mexico contributed to make every attack more easy.

There he assembled his brigantines, and abandoning the expedition against Iztapalapan, formed a resolution to give very soon a commencement to his operations. He ordered to his camp one half of the troops of Cojohuacan, and fifty chosen soldiers from the troops under Sandoval. That night he heard a great body of enemies coming towards his camp. The Spaniards, knowing that the Mexicans were not used to combat by night, unless when they were secure of victory, were at first apprehensive; but, although they received some hurt from the enemy, they obliged them, by the fire of their artillery and muskets, to retire to the city. The next day they found themselves attacked by a prodigious multitude of warriors, who enlarged their number in the imagination of the Spaniards with dreadful howls. The supply expected from Cojohuacan being arrived, Cortes made a sally with his people, in order of battle. They fought with great courage and obstinacy on both sides, but the Spaniards and their allies took one ditch and an intrenchment, and did so much damage to the Mexicans with their artillery and horses, that they were compelled to retreat to their city; and because, by that part of the lake which was to the west of the road, they were much annoyed by the vessels of the Mexicans, Cortes made one of the ditches be enlarged, that the brigantines might pass there, which immediately charged impetuously upon them, pursued them as far as the capital, and set fire to some houses of the suburbs.

In the meanwhile, Sandoval having successfully terminated, though not without infinite peril, the expedition of Iztapalapan, marched with his troops towards Cojohuacan. On his way thither, he was attacked by the troops of Mexicaltzinco, but he defeated them, and set fire to the city. Cortes, apprised of his march, and also of a great ditch which had been recently made in that road, sent two brigantines to facilitate the passage to the army. It marched towards Cojohuacan, and Sandoval came with ten cavalry to the camp of Cortes. When he arrived there, he found the Spaniards in combat with the Mexicans: the fatigue of the journey and the battle of Mexicaltzinco was not sufficient to restrain him from engaging: he joined battle with his usual courage, but while fighting he was pierced in the leg by a dart, and many other

Spaniards were wounded with him. Those advantages, if we may call them so, are little in comparison with the loss which the Mexicans sustained that day, or the dread which the fire of the artillery excited in them; which was so great, that for some days they durst not come near the Spanish camp. The Spaniards continued for six days in continual skirmishes; the brigantines sailing round the capital, set fire to many houses of the suburbs, and in their expeditions discovered a large and deep canal, by which they could easily enter the city. This was in future a circumstance of great advantage to the Spaniards.

Alvarado, on his part, hemmed in the Mexicans as much as possible, by taking, at different encounters, some ditches and intrenchments on the road of Tlacopan; but some of his men were killed, and many wounded. He observed, that by the road of Tepejacac, situated towards the north, provisions were continually introduced to the city, and perceived also, that by that road the besieged could easily escape, when they found they could no longer resist the besiegers. He communicated this observation to Cortes, who commanded Sandoval to go with one hundred and eighteen Spaniards, and a very strong army of allies to occupy that place, and intercept the supplies which should come that way to the enemy. Sandoval obeyed, though still unrecovered of the wound in his leg, and took possession without opposition of that station, by which means every communication of the Mexicans with other cities by land was cut off (*o*).

This being done, Cortes determined to make an entry the next day into the city, with more than five hundred Spaniards and more than eighty thousand allies from Tezcuco, Tlascala, Chalco, and Huexotzinco, leaving some cavalry with ten thousand allies to guard the camp: ordering Sandoval and Alvarado to enter there at the same time, each by his different road, with their troops, which were not less

SECT. XVIII.
First entry of
the besiegers
into Mexico.

(*o*) Doctor Robertson says, that Cortes designed to attack the city at three different places; from Tezcuco, on the east side of the lake; from Tacuba, on the west; and from Cuzocan (that is, Cojohuacan) in the south; those cities, he adds, commanded the principal causeways which led to the capital, and were built for its defence: but this is an error; because to the eastward there was not, nor could be, any road which led to the capital, on account of the depth of the lake. Sandoval did not encamp in Tezcuco, from whence it was impossible to attack Mexico, but in Tepejacac, towards the north.

than eighty thousand in number. Cortes marched along his road, with his numerous army well marshalled and flanked by the brigantines; but had advanced only a short way when they met with a broad deep ditch and intrenchment more than ten feet high. The Mexicans courageously opposed their passage, but being beat back by the artillery from the brigantines, the Spaniards passed, pursuing the enemy as far as the city, where they found another great ditch, and a strong and high intrenchment. The force of the water in this ditch, the monstrous swarms of the enemy who assembled to defend it, their dreadful and menacing airs, and the unceasing shower of arrows, darts, and stones, which they discharged, staggered for some time the resolution of the Spaniards; but having at length, with the fire of all the artillery and other arms, driven those from the intrenchments who defended them, the army passed and advanced, taking other ditches and intrenchments, unto the principal square of the city, which was full of people. In spite of the havoc they saw made on the multitude by a large cannon planted in the entrance of the square, the Spaniards dared not to enter there, until the general himself, reproaching them for their ignominious fear, and charging intrepidly upon the enemy, infused new courage into his soldiers. The Mexicans, intimidated by such great intrepidity, fled for shelter within the inclosure of the greater temple, and finding themselves attacked there also, they took refuge in the upper area of the temple, whither they were still pursued; but all on a sudden the Spaniards found themselves attacked behind by other Mexican troops, and reduced to such difficulty, that not being able to withstand the fury of the enemy, neither within the enclosure nor without in the square, they were obliged to retire to the road by which they had entered the city, leaving the piece of artillery in possession of the enemy. A little time after, three or four horses came seasonably into the square, and the enemy being persuaded that the whole cavalry was coming against them, went into confusion from the fear they had of those large and fiery animals, and ignominiously abandoned the temple and the square, which were immediately occupied by the Spaniards. Ten or twelve Mexican nobles were fortified in the upper area of the great temple; but, in spite of their obstinate resistance, they were vanquished and killed by those who attacked them. The Spanish army in its retreat

set fire to the largest and most beautiful houses on the road of Iztapalapan, though not without the utmost danger, on account of the impetuosity with which the Mexicans attacked the rear, and the annoyance they suffered from the terraces. Alvarado and Sandoval made great havoc of the Mexicans with their troops, and the allies received on this day great encomiums from the Spanish general.

The forces of the Spaniards were daily so much increased with fresh supplies, and with the alliance of new cities and whole provinces; that although there were not in their three camps at first more than ninety thousand men, in the space of a few days they amounted to two hundred and forty thousand. The new king of Tezcuco, in order to manifest his gratitude to Cortes, endeavoured to gain the whole nobility of his kingdom to his party, and equipped an army of fifty thousand men, which he sent to the assistance of the Spaniards, under the command of a prince, his brother; a youth, of whose bravery all ancient historians give testimony, and, amongst others, Cortes himself, who boasts of the seasonableness and importance of his aid. That prince remained with thirty thousand men in the camp of Cortes, and the other twenty thousand were distributed in the camps of Sandoval and Alvarado. This supply of the king of Tezcuco was quickly followed by the confederacy of the Xochimilcas and the Otomies, the mountaineers, with the Spaniards, which new troops added twenty thousand men to the army of Cortes.

There was nothing wanting to this general for the completion of the siege, but the prevention of the supplies which were introduced by water into the city. Retaining seven of the brigantines, he therefore sent the other six towards that part of the lake which was between Tlacopan and Tepejacac, that there they might be ready to assist the camps of Sandoval and Alvarado, when those commanders should require it; but while not employed by them, they were to cruize two by two, and endeavour to intercept all the vessels which were transporting either men or provisions to the city.

Cortes, finding he had now a sufficient number of allied troops, determined, in the course of three days, to make an entry into the city. He gave the necessary orders for this purpose, and on the day appointed he marched with the greater part of his cavalry, with three hundred

BOOK X. infantry, seven brigantines, and innumerable multitude of allies. They found the ditches open, the intrenchments thrown up, and the enemy well prepared to resist them; but notwithstanding this, they took all the ditches and intrenchments, which were formed between them and the principal square of Tenochtitlan. Here the army made a halt, Cortes not permitting them to proceed forward, without leaving all the difficult passes which they had taken levelled; but while ten thousand of the allies were busied in filling up the ditches, others set fire to and demolished some of the temples, houses, and palaces, and, amongst others, that of king Axajacatl, where the Spaniards were formerly quartered, and the celebrated palace of birds of Montezuma. After having committed those hostilities with great difficulty and danger, on account of the efforts which the Mexicans made to hinder them, Cortes sounded a retreat, which was happily effected, although the rear-guard was incessantly harrassed by the troops of the enemy. The same thing was performed by Sandoval and Alvarado in their quarter. This was indeed a day of great fatigue to the Spaniards and their allies, but likewise of unspeakable affliction to the Mexicans, as much on account of so many beautiful edifices which were destroyed, as the scorn and mockery they suffered from their own vassals who were leagued with the Spaniards, and from their mortal enemies the Tlascalans, who, while they combated, shewed the arms and legs of the Mexicans whom they had slain, and threatened to eat them that night to their supper, as in fact they did.

SECT. XX.
New entries
into the city.

The next day, in order to give no time to the Mexicans to dig the ditches which had been filled up, or repair the intrenchments which had been beat down, Cortes set out early from his camp, in the same manner as the preceding day; but, in spite of his diligence, the Mexicans had already renewed the greater part of the fortifications, and defended them so obstinately, that the army of the besiegers could not take them till after a most furious engagement of five hours. The army pushed forward, and took two ditches on the road of Tlacopan; but the day being now near finished, they retired to their camp, fighting all the way with the troops of the enemy, who fell upon the rear-guard. The armies of Sandoval and Alvarado had similar contests, the besieged being obliged to oppose, at the same time, three most numer-

ous armies, superior to them in arms, in horses, in the brigantines, and in military discipline. Alvarado, on his side, had now demolished all the houses, from one end to the other, on both sides of the road of Tlacopan (*e*), for the habitations of the capital were continued on that road unto the continent or main land, according to the accounts, both of Cortes and Bernal Diaz.

Cortes would willingly have saved his troops the trouble and fatigue of daily repeating their engagements to take the same ditches and entrenchments, but he could not leave a garrison to preserve those acquisitions, without sacrificing it to the fury of the enemy, nor was he willing to encamp within the city, as some of his captains advised him; for, besides the incessant assault which they must have endured from the enemy, they could not from thence so easily as from the post of Xoloc prevent supplies from coming into the city.

While succours were daily diminishing to the besieged, those of the besiegers were gradually increasing; and at this very juncture they received one which was as advantageous for them as it was hurtful to the enemy. The inhabitants of the cities situate upon the border and little islands of the lake of Chalco, had been hitherto the enemies of the Spaniards, and could have done much damage to the camp of Cortes, if their troops had attacked it from one part of the road, while at the same time the Mexicans had attacked it from another; but they had not attempted any hostilities against the Spaniards, perhaps because they reserved themselves for some very favouring occasion. The Chalchese, and other allies, who did not like the neighbourhood of so many enemies, endeavoured to draw them over to their party, sometimes by promises, sometimes by threats and vexations; and their importunity, and perhaps also the fear of revenge from the Spaniards, had so much influence, that the nobles of Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Colluacan, Huitzilopochco, Mizquiz, and Cuitlahuac, which cities formed a considerable part of the Mexican vale, came to the camp to make a confederacy with the Spaniards. Cortes was extremely glad of their alliance,

SECT. XXI.
Confederacy
of several ci-
ties on the
lake with the
Spaniards.

(*e*) These houses were not built on the road itself, but upon little islands near to it, on both sides. We do not find that there was any other building upon the road but a temple, situated on that part where the road broadened out, and formed a little square. This temple was taken by Alvarado, who kept a garrison there almost the whole time of the siege.

BOOK X. and requested of them that they would not only assist him with their troops and vessels, but likewise transport materials for the erection of huts along that road; for it being now the season of rain, his people suffered much from the want of habitations.

His demand was so readily complied with, that they sent immediately a large body of troops, the number of which is not known, to be under the command of Cortes, and three thousand vessels to assist the brigantines in their operations. In these they transported the materials, with which they built such a number of barracks, that all the Spaniards, and two thousand Indians employed in their service, were conveniently accommodated; for the majority of the allied troops were encamped in Cojohuacan, four miles distant from Xoloc; and, not content with giving this assistance, they brought many provisions to the camp, particularly fish and cherries in great quantities.

Cortes, finding himself so well reinforced with troops, entered two or three days successively into the city, making dreadful slaughter of the citizens. He was inclined to imagine that the besieged would necessarily surrender, seeing such an excessive number of troops armed against them, and having experienced the ruinous effects of their obstinacy: but in this he was mistaken, for the Mexicans were determined to lose their lives sooner than their liberty. He resolved therefore to make continued entries into the city, in order to compel them by hostilities to ask for that peace which they had refused. He formed two armaments of his vessels, each consisting of three brigantines and fifteen hundred small boats, ordering them to proceed towards the city, to set fire to its houses, and do the Mexicans all the mischief in their power. He gave orders to Sandoval and Alvarado to do the same on their side, while he, with all his Spaniards, and eighty thousand allies, by what appears, marched as usual by the road of Iztapalapan towards the city, but without being able to gain, neither in this nor other entries which he made in those particular days, any other advantage than that of gradually reducing the number of the enemy, demolishing some of their buildings, and advancing, daily, some little way farther, for the purpose of opening a communication with the camp of Alvarado, although then it was not in his power to effect it.

Alvarado and all his troops, seconded by the brigantines, had already taken possession of a temple, which stood in a little square in the road of Tlacopan, in which he maintained from that time a garrison, in spite of the violent assaults of the Mexicans. He had also taken some ditches and entrenchments, and knowing that the greatest force of the enemy was in Tlatelolco, where the king Quauhtemotzin resided, and numbers of the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan had resorted, he directed his operations towards that quarter; but although he fought frequently with all his force both by land and water, he could not advance were he wished, from the gallant opposition of the besieged. In those engagements many perished on both sides. In one of the first contests a strong and courageous warrior of Tlatolco, disguised like one of the Otomics, with an *Ichcahupilli*, or breast-plate of cotton, and with no other arms than a shield and three stones, made his appearance, and running most swiftly towards the besiegers, he threw his three stones successively with such dexterity and with such force, that with each he knocked down a Spaniard, exciting no less indignation among them than fear and wonder in the allies. They endeavoured, by every means, to get him into their hands, but could never take him, for in every engagement he appeared differently dressed, and in each occasioned much loss to the besiegers, having as much swiftness in his feet to make his escape as force in his arms to strike his blows. The name of this celebrated hero of Tlatelolco was *Tzilacatzin*.

Alvarado, elated with some advantages obtained over the Mexicans, strove one day to push forward as far as the market-place: he had already taken several ditches and intrenchments, and among others, one which was fifty feet broad, and more than seven feet deep; but forgetting, through his success, to make it be filled up, as his general had enjoined, he advanced with forty or fifty Spaniards, and some allies. The Mexicans having observed this neglect, soon poured in numbers upon them, and defeated and put them to flight, and in repassing the ditch, killed some of the allies and made four Spaniards prisoners, who were instantly sacrificed in sight of Alvarado and his people, in the greater temple of Tlatelolco. Cortes was extremely troubled at this disaster, as it must have increased the courage and pride of the enemy, and went immediately to Tlacopan, to give a severe reprimand to Alvarado for his

BOOK X. disobedience and rashness; but when he was informed how courageously he had conducted himself that day, and taken possession of the most difficult posts, he gave him only a kind admonition, and inculcated his former orders respecting the manner of making his entry.

SECT. XXIII.
Treachery of
the Xochi-
milcas and
other people.

The troops of Xochimilco, Cuiclahuac, and other cities on the lake, which were in the camp of Cortes, willing to profit by the opportunity which presented itself in the entries which the Spaniards made, to plunder the houses of the capital, availed themselves of a most abominable piece of treachery. They sent a secret embassy to king Quauh-temotzin, declaring their inviolable fidelity to the crown, and complaining of the Spaniards, because they had forced them to take arms against their natural lord; and adding, that they designed on their next entry to unite with the Mexicans against those enemies of their country, to kill them all, and thus put an end to his calamities. The king praised their resolution, appointed them the posts which they were to occupy, and also returned them gifts in reward of their pretended fidelity. Those traitors entered the city as usual, and feigning at first to turn their arms against the Spaniards, began afterwards to plunder the houses of the Mexicans, killing those who opposed them, and imprisoning the women and children; but the Mexicans soon detecting their perfidy, fell upon them with such merciless fury, that almost every one of them atoned for his treachery with his life. A great many of them were killed in the contest, and the others, who were made prisoners, were immediately sacrificed by order of the king. This treason appears to have been both designed and executed by the very lowest of the populace of those cities, who are always guilty of such meannesses.

SECT. XXIV.
Victory of
the Mexi-
cans.

Twenty days were now past in which the Spaniards had made continual entries into the city. Some captains and soldiers weary of so many repeated engagements, the fruits of which appeared still very distant to them, complained to the general, and earnestly conjured him, to exert all the forces he had in one decisive blow, which would end all his dangers and fatigues. The design formed by them was to advance as far as the center of Tlatelolco, where the Mexicans had assembled all their forces, and attempt to ruin them in one night, or at least bring them to a surrender. Cortes, who well knew the immi-

ment danger of this enterprize, strove to divert them from it with all his arguments; but those being of no avail, nor being able to reject a measure which had been almost generally adopted, yielded at last to their importunities. He ordered Sandoval to join Alvarado with one hundred and fifteen Spaniards and ten horses, to put the cavalry in ambuscade, and carry off the baggage under pretence of making a departure, and abandoning the siege of the city, in order that the Mexicans, by being induced to pursue them, might be attacked by the cavalry in their rear; to aim at gaining possession, by the assistance of six brigantines, of that great ditch where Alvarado was defeated, making it be filled up and levelled; to advance not a step without leaving the road well accommodated for a retreat, and then to enter in a body into the square of the market.

On the day fixed for the general assault, Cortes marched with twenty-five horses, with all his infantry, and more than an hundred thousand allies. His brigantines, with more than three thousand canoes, formed the two wings of his army on both sides of the road. He entered the city without opposition, and quickly divided his army into three parts, that they might each, by three different roads, arrive at the same time in the square of the market. The command of the first division was given to Julian Alderete, treasurer to the king, who was the person that had most earnestly pressed Cortes to undertake this expedition; and he was ordered to proceed through the principal and largest road, with seventy Spaniards, seven horses, and twenty thousand allies. Of the other two roads, which led from the great road of Tlacopan to the square of the market, the least confined, was assigned to the captains Andrea de Tapia, and George Alvarado, brother of P. de Alvarado, with eighty Spaniards, and upwards of ten thousand allies; and the narrowest and most difficult, the general charged himself with, having one hundred soldiers, and the body of the auxiliary troops, leaving the cavalry and artillery in the entry to each road. The parties entered all at one time, and engaged courageously. In the beginning the Mexicans made some resistance, but afterwards, feigning cowardice, they retreated, abandoning the ditches to the Spaniards, in order that, allured by the hopes of victory, they might run themselves into greater dangers. Some Spaniards pushed forward to the streets near to the square

BOOK X. of the market, unwarily leaving behind them a broad ditch badly filled up, and when they were most ardently advancing, and striving who should first enter into that square, they heard the formidable sound of the horn of the god Painalton, which was blown by the priests in cases of public and pressing necessity, to excite the people to arms. Immediately such a multitude of Mexicans assembled, and poured with such fury upon the Spaniards and allies, that they threw them into confusion, and compelled them to return precipitately back towards the ditch, which was apparently filled up with faggots, and other light materials; but when they attempted to pass, it sunk with the weight and violence of the multitude. Here the sharpest conflict and greatest peril of the fugitives happened; for being unable at the same time to defend themselves and pass by swimming, they were wounded and taken by the Mexicans. Cortes, who with the usual diligence of a good general, had advanced to the ditch when his defeated troops arrived there, endeavoured to stop their flight by his cries, that their disorder and confusion might not increase the slaughter made of them by the enemy; but words are not capable of restraining the flight of a disordered multitude to whom fear adds wings. Pierced with vexation at the disasters of his people, and regardless of his own personal danger, he approached to the ditch to save all those he could. Some were got out disarmed, some wounded, and some almost drowned. He at last put them into some order to proceed towards the camp, he himself remaining behind with from twelve to twenty men to guard their rear; but they had hardly begun to march, when he found himself in a narrow pass surrounded by the enemy. That day would certainly have been his last, in spite of the extraordinary bravery with which he defended himself, and with his life all hopes would have fled of the conquest of Mexico, if the Mexicans, instead of wishing to kill him, which was frequently in their power, had not eagerly strove to take him alive, to honour their gods with the sacrifice of so illustrious a victim. They had already seized him, and were leading him off for this purpose, when his people, apprised of his being a prisoner, came speedily to relieve him. Cortes owed his life and his liberty to a soldier of his guard, called Christoval de Olea, a man of infinite courage and great dexterity in arms; who, upon another occasion, had rescued him from similar danger, and up-

on this saved him at the risk of his own life, by cutting off with one stroke of his sword, the arm of that Mexican who had taken him. Cortes, was indebted in like manner for his liberty to the prince D. C. Ixtlilxochitl, and to a brave Tlascalan, named Temacatzin.

The Spaniards at last, though not without the greatest difficulty, and a number of wounds, got upon the great road of Tlacopan, when Cortes was able to rally them, and took himself the rear-guard with the cavalry; but the boldness and fury with which the Mexicans pursued them were such, that it appeared impossible for them to escape with their lives. The divisions which had entered by the other two roads, had also had terrible encounters; but, because they had been more careful in filling up the ditches, their retreat was less difficult when Cortes ordered them to march to the greater square of Tenochtitlan, where they all collected. From thence they discovered, with the utmost mortification, the smoke of copal arising from the stoves of the greater temple, which the Mexicans were burning as a thanksgiving for the victory they had obtained; but the vexation was still stronger, when they saw the heads of some Spaniards thrown towards them by the Mexicans, to dispirit them, and when they heard a report that the commanders Alvarado and Sandoval were slain. From the square they proceeded by the road of Iztapalapan, to their camp, still pursued by a multitude of the enemy.

Alvarado and Sandoval had made an effort to enter into the square of the market by a road which led from that of Tlacopan to Tlatelolco, and had advanced their operations so far as to a post at a little distance from that square, but upon seeing the sacrifices of the Spaniards, and having heard the Mexicans say, that Cortes and his captains were killed, they retired, though with the greatest difficulty; for the enemy, with whom they had been engaged, were joined by those who had defeated the troops of Cortes.

The loss sustained by the besiegers on that day was seven horses, a number of arms and boats, and a piece of artillery, upwards of one thousand allies, and more than sixty Spaniards, part killed in battle, part made prisoners, and immediately sacrificed in the greater temple of Tlatelolco, in sight of the troops of Alvarado. Cortes received a

BOOK X. wound in his leg, and not one of the besiegers hardly came off without being either wounded or otherwise discomfited.

The Mexicans celebrated the victory for eight successive days with illuminations and music in their temples; they spread the fame of it through all the kingdom, and sent the heads of the Spaniards through all the provinces of the empire who had rebelled against the crown, to recall them to obedience, to which many were induced. They dug the ditches again, repaired the intrenchments, and put the city, excepting the temples and houses ruined by the enemy, into the state it was in before the siege commenced.

SECT. XXV.
Engage-
ments of the
brigantines
and strata-
gems of the
Mexicans.

In the mean while the Spaniards kept themselves upon the defence in their camps, curing their wounded, and recruiting themselves for future combats; but in order also that the Mexicans might not avail themselves of their idleness, Cortes ordered the brigantines to go two by two to cruize upon the lake. The Mexicans, sensible of the superiority of the Spanish vessels and arms, and though not able to equal the last, they endeavoured in some measure to match the brigantines. They had for this purpose constructed thirty large vessels, called by the Spaniards *periaguas*, well finished, and covered with thick planks, to enable them to combat in them without so much danger of being damaged. They determined to lay an ambuscade for the brigantines in one of the small woods, or thickets of reeds, formed by the floating fields of the lake, and fixed in several places large stakes under water, that the brigantines might strike upon them and founder, or at least be made less capable of defence. Having prepared their ambuscade, they sent out two or three little ordinary vessels from among the reedy places of the lake, that they might, by attracting the notice of the brigantines, lead them in their flight towards the place of the ambuscade. The Spaniards, as soon as they saw them, gave them chace, but while they were in the heat of the pursuit, the brigantines struck upon the stakes, and at the same time, the thirty large vessels came out, and attacked them on every quarter. The Spaniards were in great danger of losing not only their vessels, bur their lives; but while the small guns kept the enemy in play, some expert swimmers had time to clear the stakes, upon which being freed from this hind-

drance, they were able to make use of their artillery to drive off the enemy. The brigantines were a good deal damaged, the Spaniards wounded, and of the two captains who commanded them, one was killed in the fight, and the other died in three days of his wounds. The Mexicans refitted their vessels to repeat the stratagem, but Cortes being secretly informed of the place where they lay, disposed himself a counter-ambuscade of six brigantines, and profiting by the example of the enemy, he ordered one brigantine to cruize near the place where the Mexican vessels were in ambush. Every thing succeeded as he had planned, for the Mexicans, upon seeing the brigantine, pushed out immediately from their ambuscade, and when they imagined themselves most certain of their prey, the other five brigantines came out impetuously against them, and began to play off their artillery, with the first fire of which they overset some of the enemy's vessels and routed the rest. The greater part of the Mexicans perished in the attack, some were made prisoners, and among them some nobles, whom Cortes thought immediately of employing to solicit some accommodation with the court of Mexico.

Those noble prisoners were accordingly sent to tell king Quauhlotzin that he should reflect how much the forces of Mexico were daily diminishing, while, at the same time, those of the Spaniards were augmenting: that at the last they would be obliged to yield to superior strength; that although the Spaniards did not enter the capital to commit hostilities, in order to reduce them, it would be sufficient alone to hinder them from receiving any supplies; that they might still shun the disasters which awaited them; that if they would accede to propositions of peace, he would immediately cease all hostilities; the king should remain in quiet possession of his crown, with all his grandeur, power, and authority, which he had hitherto enjoyed; that his subjects should remain free, and masters of all their property, without any thing being demanded from his majesty, or his subjects, but the homage due to the king of Spain, as the supreme lord of all that empire, whose right had been already acknowledged by the Mexicans themselves, as founded on the ancient tradition of their ancestors; that if on the contrary he persisted in war, he would be deprived of his crown, the greater part of his vassals would lose their lives, and their

SECT. XXVI.
Fruitless embassy to the king of Mexico.

BOOK X. large and beautiful city totally destroyed. The king consulted with his counsellors, with the generals of the army, and the heads of their religion; he explained to them the subject of the embassy, the state of the capital, the scarcity of provisions, the afflictions of his people, and the still greater evils which threatened them, and commanded them to speak their opinions freely. Some of them, foreseeing the issue of the war, were inclined to peace; others, instigated by hatred to the Spaniards, or the sentiments of honour, advised war. The priests, whose authority in this, as well as in other matters, was highly respected, declared strongly against peace; alledging several pretended oracles of their gods, whose indignation ought to be dreaded if they yielded to the claims of those cruel enemies of their worship, and whose protection ought to be implored with prayers and sacrifices. This opinion at last prevailed, from the superstitious fear which had seized their minds; and, accordingly, they answered the Spanish general, that they would continue the war, for they were determined to defend themselves to the last breath. If they had not been moved to this resolution by superstition, but by a sense of honour, from the love of their country and native liberty, they would not have been so blameable; for, although they saw their ruin inevitable in continuing the war, they had not much hope of bettering their fortune by means of peace. The experience of past events did not permit them to confide in the promises which were made them; on which account they must have represented to themselves, that it was more consistent with ideas of honour to die with their arms in their hands in defence of their native country and liberty, than to abandon all to the ambition of those strangers, and reduce themselves by a surrender to a wretched state of slavery.

SI CT.
XXVII.
Expeditions
against the
Malinalchese
and Matla-
zincas.

Two days after the defeat of the Spaniards, some messengers sent from the city of Quauhmalhuac arrived at the camp of Cortes, to complain of the great injuries done them by their neighbours the Malinalchese, who, according to their affirmations, were going into confederacy with the Coahuicas, a very numerous nation, on purpose to destroy Quauhmalhuac, because they had become the allies of the Spaniards, and afterwards to pass the mountains to make an assault, with a large army, on the camp of Cortes. This general, although he felt

himself rather in a state to demand assistance than to give it, nevertheless, for the reputation of the Spanish arms, and to prevent the blow which was threatened, sent the captain Andrea de Tapia with the messengers, two hundred Spaniards, ten horses, and a large number of allies, with orders to unite themselves with the troops of Quauhnahuac, and to do every thing which he thought would conduce to the service of his king, and the security of the Spaniards. Tapia executed all that was enjoined him by the general, and in a place situated between Quauhnahuac and Malinalca, had a pitched battle with the enemy, defeated, and pursued them to the foot of the mountain, on whose top the city of Malinalca stood. He could not, according to his wish, make an assault upon it, as it was inaccessible to his cavalry, but he laid the country waste, and the ten days being now expired, which was the time of absence prescribed him, he returned to the camp.

Two days after, messengers from the Otomies of the valley of Tolloccan arrived at the same camp, praying aid against the Matlatzincas, a powerful and warlike nation of the same valley, who kept them continually at war, had burned one of their settlements, made many of them prisoners, and besides had agreed with the Mexicans to attack with all their forces the camp of Cortes, by the way of the main land, while the Mexicans attacked them from the city. In the entries which the Spaniards had made into Mexico, they had sometimes heard the Mexicans threaten them with the power of the Matlatzincas, and Cortes now perceived, from the account of the Otomies, the great danger he would run, if he should give the enemy an opportunity of putting their design in execution. He would not trust this expedition to any other than the brave and gallant Sandoval. This indefatigable officer, although he had been wounded on the day of the defeat of Cortes, had acted for some days as general, incessantly going round the three camps, making the best disposition for their security. Scarcely fourteen days elapsed after the defeat of Cortes, when he marched towards the valley of Tolloccan with eighteen horses, a hundred Spanish infantry, and sixty thousand allies. In their way they saw some marks of devastation committed by the Matlatzincas, and when they entered the valley, they found a settlement newly laid in ruins, and saw the troops of the enemy

loaded with spoils, which however they quickly abandoned as soon as the Spaniards appeared, in order to be sooner ready for battle. They passed a river which crosses the valley, and stood upon its border waiting for the Spaniards. Sandoval forded it intrepidly with his army, attacked the enemy, put them to flight, and chased them for nine miles into a city, where they took refuge, leaving more than a thousand of them dead on the field. Sandoval laid siege to the city, and forced the enemy to abandon it, and betake themselves to a fortress built on the top of a steep mountain. The victorious army entered the city, and, after having plundered it, set fire to the buildings; and because it was then late in the day, and the troops wearied, they reserved the assault of the fortress till the following morning, when, however, although expecting to meet with a strong opposition, they found the fortress evacuated. Sandoval determined, as he returned, to pass through some settlements which had also declared themselves hostile to the allies of the Spaniards; but he had no occasion to make use of arms against them, for they were so intimidated at seeing so great an army, which was much augmented by numerous troops of the Otomies, that they immediately surrendered. Sandoval treated them with the greatest mildness, and requested of them that they would persuade the nation of the Malatzincas to enter into friendship with the Spaniards, by representing to them the advantages which they would derive from it; and, on the contrary, the misfortunes which might spring from their enmity to them. Those expeditions proved of the utmost importance, for four days after Sandoval had returned, several Matlatzincan, Malinalchese, and Coluixcan lords, arrived at the camp of Cortes, to make an excuse for their hostilities, and to establish a confederacy, which was most strengthening to the Spaniards, and eminently prejudicial to the Mexicans.

From the side of the main land, or continent, the Spaniards had no more enemies to alarm them, and Cortes had under his direction such an excessive number of troops, that he was able to have employed in the siege of Mexico more people than Xerxes sent against Greece, if from the nature of the site of that capital, such a multitude of besiegers would not have been rather a hindrance. The Mexicans, on the contrary, found themselves forsaken by their friends and their subjects,

surrounded by enemies, and oppressed by famine. That unfortunate capital had armed against it, the Spaniards, the kingdom of Acolhuacan, the republics of Tlascala, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, almost all the cities of the Mexican vale, and the populous nations of the Totonacas, Mixtecas, Otomies, Tlahuicas, Coahuixcas, Matlatzincas, and others; so that, besides external enemies, more than half of the empire had conspired against its ruin, and the other part stood neuter in its cause.

While the commander Sandoval was displaying his courage against the Matlatzincas, the general Chichimecatl gave a signal instance of his against the Mexicans. This famous general, when he saw that the Spaniards, after their defeat, stood upon the defensive only, resolved to make an entry into Mexico with his Tlascalans alone. He set out with this view from the camp of Alvarado, where he had constantly been stationed since the beginning of the siege, accompanying the Spaniards in all their engagements, and every where signalizing his bravery. He took on this occasion all the ditches in the road of Tlacopan, and leaving four hundred archers as a guard to the most dangerous pass, that they might secure his retreat, entered with the main body of his troops into the city, where he had a terrible encounter with the Mexicans, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. The Mexicans flattered themselves they would have been able to have defeated them in their retreat, as they passed the ditch; but by the arms of the archers posted there on the opposite bank, he passed it safely with his Tlascalans, and returned full of glory to the camp.

In order to revenge this audacious attempt of the Tlascalans, the Mexicans one night attacked the camp of Alvarado; but having been heard in their approach by the centinels, the Spaniards and allies ran to arms. The engagement lasted three hours, during which time Cortes having heard from his camp the cannonade, and suspecting the cause of it, it appeared to him to be a proper time to make an entry into the city with his people, who were now cured of their wounds. The Mexicans, who had gone to Tlacopan, not being able to overcome the resistance made by the Spaniards, returned to the city, where they found Cortes with his army: they fought with spirit, but without any considerable advantage being gained by either party.

SECT.
XXVIII.
Memorable
action of the
general Chi-
chimecatl.

BOOK X.

At this same time, when there was the greatest necessity of arms and ammunition, a vessel arrived at Vera Cruz, and which brought new supplies to the Spaniards, by which they were put in a state fit to continue their operations. The prince D. C. Ixtlilxochitl had advised the Spanish general not to exhaust himself in new assaults, in which his army might suffer too much; that without exposing himself to such an evil, or ruining the beautiful edifices of the capital, he would be able to make himself master of it, merely by hindering the introduction of any supplies; for the more numerous the besieged were, the sooner they would consume the few provisions they had left. Cortes was not inattentive to the acuteness of this advice, and valued it the more, as it came from a person, who from youth and intrepidity of temper, might rather have desired an occasion of displaying his bravery: but he could only adhere to it for a few days. Becoming soon weary of the tediousness of the siege, he re-commenced former hostilities, though not without first making propositions of peace to the Mexicans, drawing a comparison to them between his and their forces, and repeating the reasons which he had formerly urged. The Mexicans answered, that they would never lay down their arms until the Spaniards set off to their own country.

SECT. XXIX.
Slaughter
made in
Mexico, and
the bravery
of some
women.

Cortes now seeing the resolution of the Mexicans, after forty-five days of siege, and that the more he made overtures of peace the more obstinately they rejected them, determined not to make another step into the city, without destroying every building on either side of the road, not only to prevent the mischief which the troops suffered from the terraces, but likewise to force the besieged, by constant hostilities, to accept of his propositions. He applied, therefore, and obtained from his allies, some thousands of their villagers and peasants, furnished with instruments fit for demolishing buildings and filling up ditches. For some days following he made several entries into the city, with his Spaniards and brigantines, and upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand allies, demolishing every house, filling up all the ditches, and diminishing the number of his enemies by death, although not without the utmost peril to his own person and his people; for he was nearly made a prisoner, when he was relieved by his own soldiers, and his troops were sometimes obliged to escape the fury of the enemy

by flight. Some Spaniards and allies perished in those encounters, and two brigantines were almost captured by a fleet of canoes; but a third coming up to their assistance, extricated them from the danger. BOOK X.

In those entries several Spanish women made themselves famous by their bravery (*q*): they voluntarily accompanied their husbands to war, and, from the continual hardships they underwent and the examples of valour which they had always before their eyes, were in a manner become soldiers: they kept guard, marched along with their husbands, armed with breast-plates of cotton, shields, and swords, and threw themselves intrepidly into the midst of the enemy, adding in spite of their sex to the number of the besiegers.

On the twenty-fourth of July they made a new entry into the city with a greater number of troops than on the preceding days; and, vigorously bent on conquest, the Spaniards at last got possession of that road by which the large road of Iztapalapan communicated with that of Tlacopan; the object which Cortes had so ardently longed to accomplish, for the free communication of his with the camp of Alvarado. They took by assault and afterwards filled up several ditches, and burned and destroyed many buildings; among others, a palace of king Quauhtemotzin, which was a vast and strong edifice surrounded with intrenchments. The Spaniards that day remained masters of three of the four quarters of the capital, the besieged being now reduced to the part of Tlatelolco, which, on account of there being more water in it, was more strong and secure.

From a Mexican woman of rank, taken in the last assault, the Spanish general learned the miserable state of the city, through the scarcity of provisions and the discord prevailing among the besieged: for the king, and his relations, and many of the nobles, were determined to die rather than surrender; while the people were discouraged and weary of the siege. Her account was confirmed by two deserters of inferior rank, who were impelled by hunger to come to the camp of Cortes.

Upon gaining this intelligence, Cortes resolved not to let a day pass without entering the city, until he took or ruined it; he therefore re-

(*q*) Those women were Maria de Estrada, whose courage we have formerly mentioned, Beatrice Bermudez de Valasco, Juanna Martin, Elizabeta Roderiguez, and Beatrice Palacios.

BOOK X. turned with his army on the twenty-fifth, and got possession of a large road, in which there was so great a ditch that the whole day was not time sufficient to stop or fill it up. They demolished or burned all the houses of that quarter, in spite of the resistance of the enemy. The Mexicans, on beholding the allies busied in rasing the houses, cried out to them, "Demolish, ye traitors! lay those houses in ruin, for afterwards you will have the labour of repairing them." "We," answered the allies, "will unquestionably rebuild them, if you should be conquerors; but if you should be conquered, yourselves must rebuild them, and your enemies inhabit them." The Mexicans being unable to repair the buildings, made little fortifications of wood on the roads to annoy the besieged from them as they had done from the terrace; and to impede the motions of the cavalry, they strowed the square with large stones; but the besiegers made use of them to fill up the ditches.

In the entry which was made on the twenty-sixth, two large ditches were taken, which had been recently dug by the Mexicans. Alvarado in his quarter was daily advancing farther into the city, and on the twenty-seventh pushed so far, taking several ditches and intrenchments, that he came at last to occupy two towers neighbouring to the palace where king Quauhtemotzin resided; but he could proceed no farther on account of the great difficulty he found from other ditches, and the gallant resistance of the enemy, who obliged him to retreat, charging furiously upon his rear-guard. Cortes having observed an extraordinary smoke which arose from those towers, made by way of signal, and suspecting that which had actually happened, entered as usual into the city, and employed the whole day in repairing every bad step. He wanted but one canal and one intrenchment to come at the square of the market; he determined to push on until he got there, which at last he effected; and then, for the first time after the commencement of the siege, his troops met with those of Alvarado, to the inexpressible satisfaction of both. Cortes entered with some cavalry into the square, and found innumerable people there, lodged in the porticos, the houses of that district not being sufficient to contain them. He mounted the temple, from whence he observed the city, and perceived, that of the eight parts of which it consisted, only one remained to be taken. He ordered his people to set fire to the lofty and beautiful towers of that temple,

where, as in the greater temple of Tenochtitlan, the idol of the god of war was adored. The Mexican populace, on seeing the great flame which arose from thence and seemed to reach the clouds, uttered deep lamentations. Cortes, moved with pity at seeing so great a body of people reduced to the utmost distresses, commanded all hostilities to cease for that day, and new proposals to be made to the besieged, if they would surrender; but they answered, that they never would, and that while but one Mexican remained alive he would continue the defence till death.

Four days having passed without hostilities, Cortes entered anew into the city, and encountered with a large croud of miserable creatures, of men, women, and young children, emaciated and almost dying of hunger; the famine being so great, that many of them lived solely upon herbs, marsh roots, insects, and even the bark of trees. The general, compassionating such wretches, ordered his troops not to do them any hurt, and passed on to the square of the market, where he found the porticos filled with people who were unarmed; a certain token of the despondency of the people and their displeasure at the obstinacy of the king and the nobles. The greater part of that day was employed in negociations for peace; but Cortes finding that nothing would avail, ordered Alvarado to advance with an armed body through a great road where there were more than a thousand houses, while he with all his army made an attack in another quarter. The slaughter which they made of the besieged that day was so great, that there were upwards of twelve thousand killed and taken prisoners. The allies raged so cruelly against these unhappy victims, that they spared neither age nor sex, the severe orders of the general being of no effect to control them.

The next day Cortes returned with all his forces, but commanded them to do no hurt to the besieged, moved not less by the compassion which the sight of their misery excited than the hope he had of inducing them to surrender. The Mexicans seeing such a host of enemies come against them, and among them their own subjects who had formerly served them and now threatened them with ruin, finding themselves reduced to the most distressing situation, and viewing before their eyes so many objects of affliction, having hardly a place to set a

SECT. XXX.
Lamentable
state of the
Mexicans.

BOOK X. foot upon, except the dead bodies of their citizens, vented their anguish in horrid cries, and demanded death as the only cure for their pitch of misery. Some of the common people requested Cortes to treat with some nobles who defended an intrenchment about an accommodation: Cortes went to them, but with little hopes of success to his propositions: they happened to be some of those persons who could no longer endure the severity of the siege. When they saw Cortes advancing towards them, they called out with the accents of desperation, "If you are the child of the sun, as some do imagine, when your father is so swift that in the short space of a day he finishes his airy course, why are you so tedious in delivering us from all our calamities by death? We would die, that we may pass to heaven, where our god Huitzilopochtli waits to give us the repose and reward our fatigues and services and sacrifices to him have earned." Cortes made use of various arguments to move them to a surrender; but, as they answered that it was not in their power; nor had they any hope of persuading the king to it, he withdrew, in order to make a solicitation to the same purpose by means of an illustrious person whom he had three days before made a prisoner; he was an uncle of the king of Tezcuco; him he charged, though wounded, to go to Tlatelolco to confer on the subject with the king: but he saw no other fruits of his embassy than the clamours of the people repeated, with which they demanded their deaths. Some Mexican troops made a desperate assault on the Spaniards, but they were so enfeebled by the want of common sustenance, that their efforts made little impression, and the repulse of their enemies was too strong to be withstood.

SECT. XXXI.
Further fruitless attempt to bring the Mexicans to a surrender.

Cortes returned the day following to the city, expecting every moment that the Mexicans would surrender; and, without allowing any hurt to be done them, he directed his way to some persons of eminence stationed in an entrenchment, who were known to him from the first time he had been at that court, and demanded of them why they would defend themselves so obstinately, being unable for more resistance, and finding themselves in such a state that with one blow he could take away every life among them. They answered, that they saw most clearly that their ruin was inevitable, and they would willingly have prevented it, but it did not lie with them to determine the point. They

offered however to petition the king to listen to propositions of peace. BOOK X.
 They accordingly went immediately to the palace, and in a short time after returned, saying that it was so late in the day, the king could not come, but that they did not doubt he would meet with Cortes in the same place to-morrow. There was in the center of this place a large square terrace, where the Mexicans made their theatrical representations, as we have already mentioned. Cortes ordered tapestries and little stools or chairs to be placed on this theatre, on purpose to hold the desired conference, and a good entertainment to be provided for the king and the nobility who might accompany him. The day being arrived, he sent notice to the king that he waited for him at that place; but the king returned five respectable persons, to apologise for his not coming in person, on account of an indisposition he had, and because he could not place confidence in the Spaniards. Cortes received them with the greatest benignity, gave them an elegant banquet, and sent them back to the king, to request him in Cortes's name to come to that interview without fear; as he pledged his faith to pay due respect to his royal person, that his presence was absolutely necessary, and nothing could be concluded without him; and accompanied this embassy with a present of provisions, which at this juncture was the more valuable. The ambassadors, after discovering in the course of the entertainment the great necessities they suffered, retired, and about two hours after returned, bearing Cortes a present of the finest garments, which were sent him by the king, and a repetition of his former excuses. Three days were spent in those negotiations, to no effect.

Cortes had given orders to the allies to remain without the city, as the Mexicans had requested him not to allow them to be present when he held a conference with the king; but having now lost every hope of an accommodation, he recalled all the troops of his camp, in which there were upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and those also of the camp of Alvarado; and with all those forces collected he began to storm some ditches and intrenchments, which were the strongest fortifications remaining to the Mexicans, and at the same time Sandoval with his army attacked the city in the quarter of the north. Of all days this was the most unfortunate for that city, as on it the Mexican blood was most lavishly spilt; the wretched citi-

SECT.
 XXXII.
 Terrible conflict, and horrid slaughter of the Mexicans.

BOOK X. zens having now neither arms to repel the multitude and fury of their enemies, strength to defend themselves, nor space to fight upon; the ground of the city was covered with dead bodies, and the water of every ditch and canal purpled with blood. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter and ruin, and nothing was heard but piteous moans and cries of desperation. The allies grew still more cruel against that miserable people, and gave the Spaniards more trouble to check their fierceness and inhuman rage, than to combat with the enemy. The havoc made of the Mexicans that day was so great, that, according to the account of Cortes himself, the number of victims exceeded forty thousand.

SECT.
XXXIII.
Last assault,
and taking of
the city and
king.

The intolerable stench arising from so many unburied dead carcases, obliged the besiegers at this time to withdraw from the city: but the day after, being the thirteenth of August, they returned, to give the last assault to that district of Tlatelolco which yet remained in the possession of the Mexicans. Cortes carried three pieces of artillery with him, assigned to each captain the place where he was to make the assault, and commanded them to make every exertion to force the besieged to throw themselves upon the water towards that place where he expected Sandoval with the brigantines, which was a sort of harbour entirely surrounded with houses, where the vessels of the merchants used to come on shore when they came to the market of Tlatelolco; and, above all, to endeavour to seize the king Quauhquemotzin, as that was sufficient to render them masters of the city, and to put an end to the war: but, before he proceeded to this decisive blow, he made new attempts to bring about an accommodation. He was induced to this, not only from compassion on so many wretched people, but likewise from the desire of making himself master of the royal treasures and those of the nobility; for if this last part of the city was taken by assault, the Mexicans, when bereft of every hope of saving their riches, might throw them into the lake, that the victors might not enjoy them; and in case that was not done, they would be seized by the allies, who, from being innumerable and more acquainted with the houses, would leave little or nothing to the Spaniards in the disorder and confusion of the assault. He, for this purpose, went to an eminence to speak with some respectable Mexicans who were well known to him, represented to them their extreme danger, and requested them to make new appli-

cations to the king, to consent to that conference which he so much desired for the good of the kingdom, himself, and all his subjects; for that, if he persisted in his purpose of defending himself, he was determined not to leave a Mexican alive that day among them. Two of those nobles took upon them to persuade the king, but they were no sooner gone than they returned, accompanying the *Cihuacoatl*, or supreme magistrate of the court. He was received by Cortes with many tokens of cordiality and respect; but, with an air of sovereignty, by which it appeared he designed to shew his mind superior to all calamities, he said to Cortes, "Spare me, O general! the trouble of soliciting a conference for you with my king and lord Quauhtemotzin: he is resolved to die rather than appear before you: I cannot express to you how painful his resolution is to me; but there is no remedy: you, however, will follow the counsel you think proper, and act agreeable to your designs." Cortes told him to go and prepare the citizens for the death which they would soon suffer.

In the mean time, numerous bodies of women and children and low people came to surrender themselves to the Spaniards, hastening to extricate themselves from the impending danger; some of them, however, perished, in attempting to swim across the ditches, for want of strength. Cortes ordered no injury to be offered to those who surrendered, and stationed some Spaniards in different places, to check by their authority the barbarous cruelty of the allies; but in spite of his orders, more than fifteen thousand men, women, and children, perished in the hands of those furious and inhuman troops.

The nobles and warriors who remained obstinate in their resolution to defend themselves to the last moment, occupied the terraces of the houses and some of their paved roads. Cortes observing that it was late, and that they did not choose to surrender, made some shots of artillery be fired upon them; but that not being sufficient, he discharged an arquebuse as a signal for the assault. All the besiegers made the attack at once, and pressed so hard upon the feeble and harrassed citizens, that finding no place within the city to fly to, to defend themselves from the fury of so numerous an enemy, many threw themselves into the water, and others came to surrender themselves to the conquerors. The Mexicans had prepared vessels to save themselves by

BOOK X. flight from the fury of the enemy; but Cortes having been aware of this resource for escape, had given orders to Sandoval to take possession with the brigantines of the port of Tlatelolco, and to seize every bark. In spite of the utmost diligence employed by Sandoval, many escaped, and among others, the one which carried the royal personages. This active commander having discovered it, ordered Garcia de Holguin, the captain of the swiftest brigantine, to give chase; he made such speed that in a short time he came up with it, and the Spaniards were preparing to fire into it, when they ceased their oars and threw down their arms in token of surrender. In that large vessel, or piragua, were the king of Mexico Quauhtemotzin, the queen Tecuichpotzin his wife, Coanacotzin the king of Acolhuacan, Tetzepanquetzaltzin the king of Tlacopan, and other persons of rank. The brigantine boarded them, and the king of Mexico advancing towards the Spaniards, said to the captain, "I am your prisoner: I have no favour to ask, but that you will shew the queen my wife and her attendants the respect due to their sex and rank." And, taking hold of the queen by the hand, he passed with her into the brigantine. Observing afterwards, that the Spanish captain looked anxiously after the other vessels, he told him that he needed not doubt, that as soon as they all knew that their sovereign was prisoner they would come to die with him.

The captain Holguin conducted those illustrious persons to Cortes, who was then upon the terrace of a house in Tlatelolco. He received them with every mark of respect and humanity, and made them sit down. Quauhtemotzin, with much greatness of mind, told him; "I have done, brave general! in defence of myself and my subjects, every thing which the honour of my crown and regard for my people demanded; but, as my gods have been against me, I see myself now deprived of my crown and my liberty: I am now your prisoner; at your pleasure dispose of my person:" and putting his hand upon a dagger which Cortes wore at his girdle, he added, "with this dagger take that life from me which I have not lost in the defence of my kingdom." Cortes strove to console him, with many arguments, declaring that he did not consider him as his prisoner, but the prisoner of the greatest monarch of Europe, from whose clemency he ought to trust, that not only the liberty which he had lost, but also the throne

of his illustrious ancestors, which he had so worthily occupied and defended, would be restored to him. But what solace could he have from such declarations, or what confidence could he put in the words of Cortes, who had always been his enemy, and after having seen that though the friend and protector of Montezuma, both were not sufficient to save to that monarch his crown, his liberty, or his life? He desired of Cortes, that he would do no hurt to his subjects; and Cortes in return desired of him, that he would command them all to surrender. Both gave their orders, and both were instantly obeyed. It was ordered also, that all the Mexicans should leave the city without arms or baggage; and, according to the affirmation of an eye-witness of the utmost sincerity (*r*), for three days and three nights all the three roads leading from the city were seen full of men, women, and children; feeble, emaciated, and dirty, who went to recover in other places of the empire. The fetid smell, which so many thousand putrid bodies emitted, was so intolerable, that it occasioned some sickness to the general of the conquerors. The houses, the streets, and the canals, were full of disfigured carcases; the ground of the city was in some places found dug up by the citizens, who searched under the earth for roots to feed on, and many trees were stripped of their bark, to supply the exigencies of famine. The general caused the dead bodies to be buried, and large quantities of wood to be burned through all the city, as much in order to purify the infected air as to celebrate his victory.

The news of the taking of the capital spread quickly through all the land; most of the provinces of the empire acknowledged obedience to Cortes, though some few for two years after continued to war upon.

(*r*) “ Es verdad y juro amen que toda la laguna y casas y barbacoas estaban llenas de cuerpos y cabezas de hombres muertos; que yo no sè de que manera lo escriba; pues en las calles y en los mismos patios de Tlatelolco no habia otras cosas y no podiamos andar, sino entre cuerpos y cabezas de Indios muertos. Yo he leído la destruccion de Jerusalem; mas si en ella hubo tanta mortandad como esta yo no lo sè,” &c. Bernal Diaz, chap. 156. of his history. Such expressions, from an eye-witness of great sincerity, who was not given to exaggeration, convey to us a just idea of that horrid slaughter. We suspect that the Mexicans left the dead bodies unburied, that the stench of them might drive away the besiegers; as otherwise it is probable that, on account of their strict attention to funeral rites, they would have removed them all.

BOOK X. the Spaniards. The allies returned to their native districts, joyful beyond measure with their prey, and gratified in extreme to have shaken and convulsed that court whose dominion they never could brook, and whose arms kept them in perpetual uneasiness; never perceiving, that with their own hands they had been forming the chains which were to fetter their liberty, and that when that empire was fallen, all the other nations of the region must be degraded and enslaved.

The plunder was greatly inferior to the hopes and expectations of the conquerors. The garments and apparel which they found in the capital were divided among the allies: those works of gold, silver, and feathers which, on account of the singularity of their workmanship were preserved entire, were sent as presents to the emperor Charles V. all the rest of the gold, which was melted, hardly amounted to nineteen thousand two hundred ounces (*s*); not only because the Mexicans threw the greater part into the lake (*t*), but also because individuals, both Spaniards and allies, endeavoured in plundering, to recompense themselves secretly for their hardships and toils.

The taking of that capital happened on the thirteenth of August, 1521, one hundred and ninety-six years after the foundation of it by the Aztecas, one hundred and sixty-nine years after it was erected into a monarchy, which was governed by eleven kings. The siege of Mexico, something resembling in the disasters and slaughters with which it was attended, that of Jerusalem, lasted seventy-five days; during which time, of two hundred thousand and more allies, some thousands perished; and of nine hundred Spaniards, more than one hundred were killed and sacrificed. The number of the Mexicans killed is not known; but according to the account of Cortes and Bernal Diaz, and what other historians say on that subject, it appears that

(*s*) Cortes says, that the gold which was melted down weighed one hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos*, equal to nineteen thousand two hundred ounces. There were among the spoils sent to Charles V. pearls of an enormous size, most valuable gems, and some curious works of gold. The ship in which they were carried was taken by I. Florin, a famous French pirate, and the treasure was sent to the court of France; which authorised such depredations, under the not less famed than frivolous pretence, that the most Christian king was a son of Adam as well as the Catholic king.

(*t*) Bernal Diaz says, that he saw some things of gold got up out of the lake, and amongst others, a sun similar to that which Montezuma sent to Cortes when he was on the coast of Chalchiuhecuan.

the slain exceeded one hundred thousand in number. With respect to those who died by famine, or sickness occasioned by the brackish water which they drank and the infection of the air, Cortes himself affirms they were more than fifty thousand. The city appeared one complete ruin. The king of Mexico, in spite of the magnificent promises of the Spanish general, was in a few days put ignominiously to the torture, which he bore with unshaken firmness, that he might declare where the immense riches of the court and temples were deposited (*u*); and, in three years after, was hanged, together with the kings of Tezcucó and Tlacopan, on account of some suspicious circumstances in their conduct (*w*). The Mexicans, and all the nations that contributed to their ruin, notwithstanding the humane and benevolent dispositions of the Catholic kings, remained abandoned to misery and oppression, and the contempt not only of the Spaniards, but even of the lowest African slaves and their infamous descendants.

Thus, it has been said, in conducting the Spaniards, a polished nation of Europe, to overturn the rude monarchy of the Mexicans, in America, did Providence punish the latter for the injustice, cruelty, and

(*u*) The torture given to king Quauhtemotzin, was burning his feet slowly after they were anointed with oil. An intimate friend of the king voluntarily shared his sufferings, and died under the torment. Bernal Diaz also adds, that the king of Tlacopan was tortured along with him. Cortes, in spite of his abhorrence of this act, was driven to it by the suggestions and insinuations of some avaricious Spaniards, who suspected that he had intended not to put the king to the torture in order to possess himself secretly of all the royal treasure.

(*w*) Quauhtemotzin king of Mexico, Coanacotzin king of Acolhuacan, and Tettlepanquetzaltzin king of Tlacopan, were hanged upon a tree in Izancanae, the capital of the province of Acallan, on one of the three days preceding Lent of the year 1525. The occasion of their death was, some discourse they had among themselves relative to their misfortunes, in which they insinuated how easy it would be for them, if they inclined, to kill Cortes and the Spaniards, and to recover their liberty and their crowns. A Mexican traitor, in order to gain the favour of the Spanish general, communicated what had been said, but altered the sense of the words, and represented the casual remarks of conversation as a formed conspiracy against him. Cortes, who was then on his journey towards the province of Comajahua, with a few Spaniards almost exhausted by fatigue, and upwards of three thousand Mexicans whom he carried along with him, was persuaded there was no way of shunning the danger which threatened him, but putting the three kings to death. "This sentence," says Bernal Diaz, "was extremely unjust, and much blamed by all who were travelling with him that day." It occasioned some watchings and melancholy to Cortes.

BOOK X. superstitions of their ancestors. But there the victors, in one year of merciless massacre, sacrificed more human victims to avarice and ambition, than the Indians during the existence of their empire devoted in chaste worship to their native gods: there the legislative art of Europe corrected the bloody policy of American tribes, and introduced the ministry of justice, by despoiling Indian caziques of their territories and tributes, torturing them for gold, and enslaving their posterity: and there the mild parental voice of the Christian religion was suborned to terrify confounded savages with the malice of a strange, and by them unprovoked, God; and her gentle arm in violence lifted up, to raze their temples and hospitable habitations, to ruin every fond relic and revered monument of their ancestry and origin, and divorce them in anguish from the bosom of their country.

A P P E N D I X :

C O N T A I N I N G

D I S S E R T A T I O N S

O N

THE LAND, THE ANIMALS, AND THE INHABITANTS OF
MEXICO:

I N W H I C H

The ANCIENT HISTORY of that COUNTRY is confirmed, many POINTS
of NATURAL HISTORY illustrated, and numerous ERRORS refuted,
which have been published concerning AMERICA by some celebrated
modern AUTHORS.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THE Dissertations which we enter upon are both useful and necessary, to illustrate the ancient history of Mexico, and confirm the truth of many points maintained in it. The first Dissertation is requisite, to supply the defective knowledge we have respecting the first population of that new world. The second, though tedious and less calculated to interest, ought not to be omitted, in order that we may know the foundations of our chronology; and will prove useful to whoever may hereafter write the history of Mexico. All the others are equally important, to guard incautious readers from the mistakes and deceptions they would otherwise be led into, by the crowd of modern authors, who, without possessing sufficient knowledge, have not been ashamed to write on the land, the animals, and inhabitants of America.

Any person who reads the work of M. de P. must entertain a thousand ideas contrary to the sincerity of our history. He is a philosopher of the present fashion, and learned; particularly on certain subjects, where it is his misfortune to be wise; and ignorance would have been his bliss. He mingles insults and buffoonery in his discourses; enters without respect into the house of God, and sheds malevolence and invective from his pen, without reverence for truth or feelings for innocence. He decides rashly, and in a magisterial tone; incessantly cites the writers of America, and declares his work to be the fruit of ten years toil. This he means should recommend him with many readers of this philosophic age, who esteem nothing but philosophy, and think those men philosophers only who satirize religion, and talk in the language of impiety.

The attempt made by M. de P. is to persuade the world, that in the vast region of America all nature has degenerated; in the plants, in the animals, and in the inhabitants. The earth, incumbered with lofty mountains and rocks; and in the plains deluged with stagnant and cor-

rupted waters, or covered with woods so vast and so thick, that the sun's rays never penetrate them, is, he says, generally barren, and more abounding in poisonous plants than all the rest of the world: the air unwholesome, and more cold than that of the other continent: the climate unfavourable to the propagation of animals: all the animals native to these countries were smaller, more deformed, feeble, cowardly, and stupid, than those of the ancient world; and those which were transported there soon degenerated, as well as all the plants transplanted there from Europe: the men hardly differed from the beasts, except in figure; but even in this, many marks of degeneration appear; their colour olive, their heads extremely hard and armed with coarse thick locks, and the whole of the rest of their bodies totally destitute of hair: they are brutal and weakly, and subject to many violent disorders, occasioned by the insalubrity of their climate; but however their bodies may be formed, their minds are still more imperfect; they are so irretentive in memory, that they forget to-day what they did yesterday; they can neither reflect nor order their ideas, nor are capable of improving them, nor of thinking, because their brains circulate only gross viscous humours: they are insensible to the desires of love, or any other passion; their sloth holds them sunk in a savage state; their cowardice was made manifest at the conquest; their moral vices are correspondent to their physical defects; drunkenness, lying, and pederasty, were common in the islands, in Mexico, Peru, and over all the new continent; they lived without laws; the few arts they knew were very rude; agriculture was totally neglected by them, their architecture pitiful, and their utensils still more imperfect; in the whole new world were only two cities, Cuzco in North, and Mexico in South America, and even these constituted but miserable hamlets, &c.

This is a slight sketch of the monstrous picture which M. de P. draws of America: we do not give it at length, nor say how other authors; as ill informed or strongly prejudiced as he is, have represented it: it would waste too much time to copy their absurdities and errors; neither do we intend to make the apology of America or the Americans; that would require a very voluminous work: to write an error, two lines are sufficient; two pages, or two sheets may not be sufficient

to refute it: we shall, therefore, reply to those only which affect the truth of our history: we have chosen the work of M. de P. because in it the errors of most others are collected.

Although M. de P. is the principal author to whom we direct our animadversions, we shall have occasion to remark upon others, and, among those, on Count de Buffon. We have the utmost esteem for this celebrated author, and consider him the most diligent, the most accurate, and most eloquent naturalist of the age; perhaps there never was in the world, one who made such progress in the knowledge of animals as he has done; but as the subject of the work he has undertaken is so vast and so various, it is not wonderful that he has sometimes erred, or forgot what he has written with respect to America, where nature is so inexhaustible; the mistakes, therefore, or proofs we may adduce of his errors, can have no influence on the reputation of one so deservedly respected by the learned world.

In the quotations of the History of Quadrupeds of count de Buffon, we made use of the Paris edition, in thirty-one volumes, twelves, concluded in the year 1768. In those of the work of M. de P. we have used the London edition of 1771, in three volumes, including the answer made him by Don Pernety, and reply of M. de Paw.

DISSERTATION I.

On the Population of AMERICA, and in particular that of
MEXICO.

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NO problem in history has been more difficult of solution than the population of America, or has occasioned a greater diversity of opinions. Ancient philosophers were not more divided concerning the supreme good than the moderns about this. To examine them all would be a fruitless labour. Neither do we intend to establish a new system, having no foundation to support one: we mean simply to offer and submit to the judgment of the learned, a few conjectures, which we presume may not be useless. In order to proceed with clearness and precision, we shall divide our general subject into several parts, and explain our sentiments on each separately.

SECT. I.

At what Period America began to be peopled.

BETANCOURT, and other authors, are persuaded, that the new world began to be peopled before the deluge. That certainly might have happened, because the space of one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years elapsed from the creation of the first man until the deluge, according to the chronology of the Hebrew text of Genesis, and our common reckoning; and still more, the space of two thousand two hundred and forty-two, or two thousand two hundred and sixty-two years, according to the computation of the Seventy, was certainly enough to people all the world, as has been already demonstrated by some writers; at least, after ten or twelve centuries, some of those families which scattered themselves towards the most eastern parts of Asia, might pass to that part of the world which we call, at present, America, whither it was, as we believe, united to the other, or sepa-

rated by a small arm of the sea from it. But how do those authors prove that America was peopled before the deluge? Because they say there were giants in America, and the race of giants was antediluvian. Because God, others will say, did not create the earth to remain uninhabited; and it is not probable that, after creating America for that purpose, he would leave it so long without inhabitants. Admitting the sacred text to be taken in the vulgar sense, and that the giants were men of extraordinary size and bigness, this would by no means confirm such opinion, because we read in the sacred writings also of giants posterior to the deluge. Neither does the text of Isaiah prove any thing in favour of that opinion, because although God created the earth to be inhabited, no one can divine the time prefixed by him for the execution of his designs.

The traveller Gemelli says, on the evidence of some ancient pictures of the Mexicans, that the city of Mexico was founded in the year II Calli, corresponding to the year 1325 of the creation of the world, that is, more than three hundred years before the deluge; but this erroneous absurdity was not an error of his mind, but a slip of his pen, as plainly appears from the context of his narration: wherefore he is unjustly reprobated by Mr. de P. who also accuses Siguenza of the same error, whereas we are very certain this most learned Mexican was of a very different opinion. It is true, that the city of Mexico was founded in the year II Calli, and that that was the year 1325, not of the world, however, but of the vulgar era, which the above mentioned traveller certainly meant to have written.

It is therefore useless to investigate whether America was peopled before the deluge, because on one hand although we were able to discover it, on the other we are certain, that all men perished in the deluge. We are therefore obliged always, after that general inundation, to seek for new peoplers of America. We know that some writers circumscribe the deluge to a certain part of Asia; but we know also that that opinion is contrary to the Sacred Writings, to the traditions of the Americans, and physical observations.

Dr. Siguenza believed the population of America began not long after the dispersion of nations. As we have not the manuscripts of that celebrated Mexican, we are ignorant on what foundation he rested

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his opinion, which was very conformable to the tradition of the Chiapanese. Other authors on the contrary, believe that population very modern, because the writers of the history of the Mexicans and Peruvians did not find among those nations any memory of their particular events farther back than eight centuries. But those authors confound the population of Mexico made by the Chichimecas and the Aztecas, with that which their ancestors had made many ages before in the northern countries of America, nor distinguish the Mexicans from other nations who occupied that country before them. Who can ascertain when the Otomies, Olmecas, Cuitlatecas, and Michuacanese entered into the country of Anahuac? Is it not surprising that some writers of Mexico could not find any memorials more ancient than eight centuries; since, beside the loss of the greater part of the historical monuments of those nations, as they did not know how to adjust the Mexican years with ours, they frequently committed gross anacronisms; but they who had procured greater abundance of the ancient and select paintings, and knew a little better how to trace the chronology of those people, such as Seguenza and Ixtlilxochitl, found records certainly more ancient, and used them in their valuable manuscripts.

We do not doubt that the population of America has been very ancient, and more so than it may seem to have been to European authors. 1. Because the Americans wanted those arts and inventions, such, for example, as those of wax and oil for light, which, on the one hand, being very ancient in Europe and Asia, are on the other most useful, not to say necessary, and when once discovered, are never forgotten. 2. Because the polished nations of the new world, and particularly those of Mexico, preserve in their traditions and in their paintings the memory of the creation of the world, the building of the tower of Babel, the confusion of languages, and the dispersion of the people, though blended with some fables, and had no knowledge of the events which happened afterwards in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe, although many of them were so great and remarkable, that they could not easily have gone from their memories. 3. Because neither was there among the Americans any knowledge of the people of the old continent, nor among the latter any account of the passage of the former to the new world. These reasons, we presume, give some probability to our opinion.

S E C T. II.

Who were the Peoplers of America.

THOSE who question the authority of the Sacred Writings, say the Americans derive not their origin from Adam and Noah, and believe, or feign to believe, that as God created Adam that he might be the father of the Asiatics, also made, before or after him, other men, that they might be the patriarchs of the Africans, Europeans, and Americans. This does not arraign the authority of the Sacred Writings, says a modern author (*a*), because, although Moses makes mention of no other first patriarch than Adam, it was owing to his having undertaken to write the history of no other people than the Israelites. But this is contrary to the tradition of the Americans, who in their paintings and in their hymns, called themselves the descendants of those men who escaped from the general deluge. The Toltecas, Mexicans, Tlascalans, and all the other nations were agreed on this point. They all said that their ancestors came from elsewhere into those countries; they pointed out the road they had come, and even preserved the names, true or false, of those their first progenitors, who, after the confusion of languages, separated from the rest of men.

F. Nunez de la Vega, bishop of Chiapa, says, in the preface to his *Synodal Constitutions*, that in the visit which he made to his diocese towards the end of the last century, he found many ancient calendars of the Chiapanese, and an old manuscript in the language of that country, made by the Indians themselves, in which it was said, according to their ancient tradition, that a certain person named *Votan* (*b*), was present at that great building, which was made by order of his uncle, in order to mount up to heaven; that then every people was given its language, and that Votan himself was charged by God to make the division of the lands of Anahuac. The prelate adds afterwards, that there was, in his time, in Teopixca a great settlement of

(*a*) The author of a miserable little performance, entitled, *Le Philosophe Douceur*, printed at Berlin, in the year 1775.

(*b*) Votan is the chief of those twenty famous men whose names were given to the twenty days of the Chiapanese month.

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 I. descendants of that ancient populator. We are not here endeavouring
 to give antiquity to the populator of America, on the faith of the Chi-
 panese, but merely to shew that the Americans conceived themselves
 the descendants of Noah.

Of the ancient Indians of Cuba, several historians of America relate, that when they were interrogited by the Spaniards, concerning their origin, they answered, they had heard from their ancestors, that God created the heavens, the earth, and all things; that an old man, having foreseen the deluge with which God designed to chastise the sins of men, built a large canoe, and embarked in it with his family, and many animals; that when the inundation ceased, he sent out a raven, which, because it found carrion to feed on, never returned to the canoe; that he then sent out a pigeon, which soon returned, bearing a branch of *Hoba*, a certain fruit of America, in its mouth; that when the old man saw the earth was dry, he disembarked, and having made himself some wine of the wood-grape, he became intoxicated, and fell asleep; that then one of his sons made ridicule of his nakedness, and that another son piously covered him; that, upon awaking, he blessed the latter, and cursed the former. Lastly, that they drew their origin from the cursed son, and therefore went almost naked; that the Spaniards, as they were well clothed, descended, perhaps, from the other.

The Mexicans used to call Noah, *Coarcor*, and *Teocipactli*; and the Michuacanesse, *Tezpi*. They used to say, "That there was once a great deluge, and that Tezpi, in order to save himself from being drowned, embarked in a ship formed like an ark, with his wife, his children, and many different animals, and several seeds of fruits; and that as the water abated, he sent out that bird which bears the name of *aura*, which remained eating dead bodies, and then sent out other birds, who did not return either, except that little bird (the flower-sucker) which was much prized by them on account of the variety of the colours of its feathers, that brought a small branch with it; and from this family they all believed they drew their origin. If, therefore, we refer to the Sacred Writings, or the traditions of those Americans, we must seek for the peoplers of America among the descendants of Noah.

But who were they? Which of the sons of Noah was the root of the American nations? D. Siguenza, and the very ingenious Mexican Sister J. Agnes de la Cruz, believed or conjectured, that the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, were the descendants of Naphtuhim, son of Mezraim, and nephew of Cham. Boturini was of opinion, that they descended not only from Naphtuhim, but likewise from his other five brothers. The learned Spaniard Arias Montano was persuaded that the Americans, and particularly the Peruvians belonged to the posterity of Ophir, fourth son of Shem. The reasons of this author are so weak that they do not merit mention. Of those of Siguenza we shall speak presently.

The other authors, who have not been willing to carry their inquiries so far into antiquity, have sought for the origin of the Americans in different countries of the world. Their opinions are so numerous and different, it is not easy to recite them. Some think they find the ancestors of the Americans in Asia, others trace them in Africa, and others from Europe. Among those who imagine they have found them in Europe, some have supposed their ancestors the Grecians, others the Romans, others the Spaniards, others the Irish, others the Courlanders, and some the Russians. Among those who report them originally from Africa, some make them the descendants of the Egyptians, some of the Carthaginians, and some of the Numidians. But there is no where greater variety of sentiment than among those who believe the population of America due to Asia. The Israelites, the Canaanites, the Assyrians, the Phœnicians, the Persians, the Tartars, the East Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese, all have their advocates among the historians and philosophers of the two last centuries. Some, however, not content to look for the populators in the known countries of the world, draw the famous isle Atlantida out of the waters of the ocean, to send colonies from it to America. But this is not extraordinary; since there are authors who, in order to do wrong to no people, believe the Americans the descendants of all the nations of the world.

So great a variety and extravagance of opinion is owing to a persuasion, that to make one nation be believed to have sprung from another, no more is necessary than to find some affinity in the words of their languages, and some similarity in their rites, customs, and manners. Such

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DISSERT. are the foundations of the above mentioned opinions, collected and
 I. illustrated with a great shew of erudition, by the Dominican Garcia,
 and those learned Spaniards who reprinted his work with additions: which those who please may consult, as we have no time to refute them.

We cannot, however, dispense with the mention of the opinions of D. Siguenza, adopted also by the famous bishop F. P. Daniel Huet, as it appears to us to be the best founded. Siguenza was persuaded, that the nations which peopled the Mexican empire belonged to the posterity of Naphtuhim, and that their ancestors, having left Egypt not long after the confusion of tongues, travelled towards America. The reasons on which he grounds this opinion are mentioned only in the *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. As we are deprived of his excellent manuscripts, we can only cite them, as Eguiara did, in the *Bibliotheca* above mentioned.

Those reasons, from what appears, are first, the conformity of those American nations with the Egyptians in the construction of pyramidal edifices, and the use of hieroglyphics in the method of computing time, in their dress, and in some of their customs; and, lastly, the resemblance of the word *Teotl* of the Mexicans to the *Theuth* of the Egyptians, which occasioned bishop Huet to adopt the same sentiment with Siguenza. If this opinion is proposed as a conjecture, we shall not contradict it; but if it is offered as a truth on which we are to depend, the proofs do not appear sufficient.

Siguenza conceived that the children of Naphtuhim set out from Egypt towards America not long after the confusion of tongues; it would therefore be necessary to make the comparison of the customs of the Americans with those of the first Egyptians, not of their descendants who dwelt in Egypt many years after, and from whom the Americans are not believed to be descended. But who can imagine that the Egyptians, immediately after the dispersion of the people, began to build pyramids, and make use of hieroglyphics, and that from thenceforward they ordered and arranged their years and months in the form they had afterwards? All those things were certainly posterior to that epoch, nor was it necessary to have seen the pyramids of Egypt to make the Americans think of building such kind of edifices;

for the mountains alone were sufficient to suggest them: whoever desires to build an edifice to immortalize his name, will easily think of making it in the form of a pyramid; because no other sort of building can be raised to the same height with so little expence and trouble, as the higher it rises the fewer materials in proportion are required. Besides, the Mexican edifices were entirely different from those of Egypt. The latter were truly pyramidal, the former not; they were composed of three, four, or five square or oblong bodies, of which the higher was less in amplitude than the lower; those of the Egyptians were in general hollow, those of the Mexicans solid; these served for the bases of their sanctuaries, those for the sepulchres of their kings. The temples of the Mexicans and other nations of Anahuac, were of a species so singular, that we do not know they were ever used by any other people of the world: on which account they ought to be considered as an original invention of the Toltecas or some other people more ancient than them.

In the mode of computing time, the Mexicans were much more similar to the Egyptians; that is, of the latter Egyptians, not of the former, of whose method we know nothing. The Egyptian solar year was composed of three hundred and sixty-five days, like that of the Mexicans: the one and the other contained three hundred and sixty-five days in their months, and as the Egyptians added five days to their last month *Mesori*, so did the Mexicans to their month *Izcalli*, in which particular they agreed with the Persians; but in other respects, there was a great difference between them; the Egyptian year consisted of twelve months and these of thirty days, the Mexican year consisted of eighteen months and these of twenty days(c). The Egyptians, like many other nations of the old continent, counted by weeks; the Mexicans by periods of five days in their civil and thirteen days in their religious year.

The Mexicans, like the Egyptians, employed hieroglyphics; but how many other nations have done the same to conceal the mysteries of their religions; and if the Mexicans learned hieroglyphics from the Egyptians, why had they not also the use of letters from them? Be-

(c) We speak of the religious year of the Mexicans, for of their civil or astronomical year we have no account.

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cause letters, it may be said, were invented after their separation ; but how is it known that before they separated they had made the invention of hieroglyphics ?

The dress of the first Egyptians may have probably been the same as that of the other sons and nephews of Noah ; at least we have no reason to think otherwise. Respecting the political customs of those first men we know nothing. The most ancient Egyptians, of whom we have any certain marks, were those who lived in the times of the patriarch Joseph. If we mean to make a comparison of their usages mentioned in the sacred books with those of the Mexicans, instead of any similarity, we shall find the strongest difference between them. Lastly, we do not pretend to demonstrate the opinion of Siguenza to be false, but only to shew that it is not a truth upon which we can safely rely.

The extravagant M. de P. says, that the Mexicans derive their origin from the southern Apalachites ; but he neither does nor can offer any reason to make such a supposition probable ; and, although it were true, the difficulty would remain still unresolved with regard to the origin of the Apalachites themselves. It is true, that author finds little difficulty, as he sometimes gives us to understand that he is not unfavourable to the romantic system of La Peyrere.

With respect to the opinion we have ventured to form ourselves, we shall explain it in the following conclusions.

I. The Americans descended from different nations, or from different families, dispersed after the confusion of tongues. No person will doubt of the truth of this, who has any knowledge of the multitude and great diversity of the American languages. In Mexico we have already found thirty-five : in South America there are still more known. In the beginning of the last century the Portuguese counted fifty in Maragnon. It is true, that there is a great affinity between some of those languages, which shews that they are sprung from the same parent, namely, the *Eudeve*, *Opata*, and *Tanahumara*, in North America, and the *Mocobi*, *Toba*, and *Abipona* in South America ; but there are many others also, as different from each other as the Illyrian from the Hebrew. We can safely affirm, that there are no living or dead languages which can differ more among each other than the languages of the Mexicans, Otomies, Taraseas,

Mayas, and Miztecas, five languages prevailing in different provinces of Mexico. It would, therefore, be absurd to say, that languages so different, were different dialects of one original. How is it possible a nation should alter its primitive language to such a degree, or multiply its dialects so variously, that there should not be, even after many centuries, if not some words common to all, at least an affinity between them, or some traces left of their origin?

Who can ever believe what we read in the history of Acosta? That the Aztecas, or Mexicaus, having arrived after their long peregrination in the kingdom of Michuacan, were allured by the agreeableness of the country, and became desirous of establishing themselves in it; but as the whole nation could not settle there, their god Huitzilopochtli consented that some of them might stay, and suggested to the others, when those who were to remain went to bathe in the lake of Pazcuaro, to steal their cloaths from them and pursue their journey; that those who bathed, finding themselves robbed of their garments, and fooled by their companions, were so provoked, that they not only resolved to remain there, but to adopt a new language; and that thence arose the Tarasca language. The account adopted by Gomara, and other historians, is still more incredible: that, of an old man, called *Iztac Mixcoatl* and his wife *Itancueitl* were born six children, each with a different language, called *Xolhua*, *Tenoch*, *Olmecatl*, *Xicallancatl*, *Mixtecatl*, and *Otomitl*, who were the founders of as many nations, which peopled the country of Anahuac. This allegory, by which the Mexicans signified that all those nations drew their origin from one common stock, was made a fable of by the above mentioned authors, from ignorance of its meaning.

II. The Americans do not derive their origin from any people now existing in the ancient world, or at least there is no grounds to affirm it. This inference is founded on the same argument with the preceding, since, if the Americans descended of any of those people, it would be possible to trace their origin by some marks in their languages, in spite of the antiquity of their separation: but any such traces have not been discovered hitherto, although many authors have searched with the utmost attention, as appears from the work of the Dominican Garcia. We have leisurely compared the Mexican and other American

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languages with many others which are now living, and with those which are dead, but have not been able to discover the least affinity between any of them. The resemblance between the *Teotl* of the Mexicans and the *Theos* of the Greeks, has induced us sometimes to compare those two languages, but we have never found any agreement between them. This argument is strong in respect to the Americans, as they shew great firmness and constancy in retaining their languages. The Mexicans preserve their language among the Spaniards, and the Otomies retain their difficult dialect among Spaniards and Mexicans, after two centuries and a half of communication with both.

If the Americans descended from different families dispersed after the confusion of tongues, as we believe, and have been separated since then from those others who peopled the country of the old continent, authors will labour in vain, to seek in the language or customs of the Asiatics for the origin of the people of the new world.

S E C T. III.

From what Part, and how the Inhabitants and Animals passed to America.

THIS is the second and most difficult point in the problem of the population of America, on which, as on others, authors are various in opinion. Some of them attribute the population of the new world to certain Phœnician merchants, who, in traversing the ocean, landed there by accident. Others imagine that the same people, whom they suppose to have passed from the old continent to the isle Atlantida, from thence got easily to Florida, and from that great country gradually scattered themselves over America. Others believe that they passed there from Asia, by the Straits of Anian; and others, that they were transported there from the northern regions of Europe, over some arm of the frozen sea.

Feijoo, a Spanish Benedictine, thought a few years ago to propose to the world a new system; and what is this new system? That America was united in the north to the old continent, by which both

men and animals passed there. But this opinion is as ancient as Acosta, who, one hundred and forty-four years before Feijoo, published it in his History of America: besides, it is not sufficient to solve all the difficulties respecting the passage of animals, as we shall see hereafter.

The count de Buffon, notwithstanding his great genius and pointed accuracy, contradicts himself openly in this point. He supposes the two continents united by oriental Tartary, and affirms that by it the first inhabitants passed to America, and also all those animals which have been found common to both continents; such as *buffalos*, called in Mexico *cibolos*, wolves, foxes, martins, deer, and other quadrupeds, which agree with cold climes; but that there could not be in America neither lions, tygers, camels, elephants, nor any of those eighteen species of apes which are found in the old continent; and, in short, no quadruped peculiar to hot climes could be common to both continents, because they were not able to resist the cold of northern countries, by which they must pass from one to the other world. This he repeats incessantly through all his natural history, and on this account he denies antelopes, goats, and rabbits to America. He thinks those quadrupeds American only which live in the hot countries of the new world, among which he numbers thirteen or fourteen species of American apes, divided by him into the two classes of *Sapayus* and *Sagoini*; of those, he adds, there were none in the old continent, as there were none of the eighteen species of the old continent in the new world. What then was the origin of those and other quadrupeds really American? This doubt, which occurs frequently in the natural history of that great philosopher, remains undecided until the last volume but one of the history of quadrupeds, in which he says (*d*),

“ As it cannot be doubted that all animals in general were created in the
 “ old continent, we must admit them to have passed from it to the new;
 “ and must suppose also, that those animals, the deer, wild-goat, and
 “ *mouffettes*, instead of having degenerated like others in the new world,
 “ have on the contrary arrived at perfection there, and from the
 “ suitableness of the clime excelled their own nature. There having
 “ been so many animals found in the new world, which have no like-

(*d*) Hist. Nat. tom. xxix. Discourse on the Degeneration of Animals.

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 "ness to any of the old world, shews sufficiently clear, that the
 "origin of those animals which are proper to the new world ought
 "not to be ascribed to simple degeneration. However great and pow-
 "erful we may suppose its effects, we cannot reasonably be persuaded
 "that these animals have been originally the same as those of the old
 "continent; and unquestionably it is more consistent with reason to
 "believe, that the two continents were formerly contiguous and
 "united, and that those species which retired into the regions of the
 "new world, because they found its climate and productions more
 "agreeable to their nature, were there shut up and separated from the
 "others, by the irruptions of the sea which divided Africa from
 "America (e)." &c. &c. From this discourse of count de Buffon we
 conclude, 1. That there is no animal properly American; because all
 of them went from the old continent, where they were created. 2.
 That the argument founded on the nature of the animals repugnant
 to cold, is of no weight to shew that the animals could not pass
 to the o'd continent; because those animals which could not pass by the
 northern countries from their nature, could pass by that part where
 America and Africa were formerly united, as that author believes. 3.
 That by the way in which the Sapayus and Sagoini passed to the new
 world, in like manner could elephants, camels, lions, tygers, &c.

Omitting many other opinions unworthy of mention, we shall submit our own; not with a view to establish any new system, but to offer materials for other abler pens, and to illustrate some points of our history.

I. The men and animals of America passed there from the old continent. This is confirmed by the Sacred Writings. Moses, who declares Noah the common stock of all men after the deluge, says expressly, that in that general inundation of the earth all its quadrupeds,

(e) We request our readers to compare what the count de Buffon says concerning the ancient union of Africa and America, with that which he writes in the eighteenth volume, where he speaks of the lion. "The American lion," he says, "cannot be descended from the lion of the old continent, because the latter only inhabits between the tropics; and nature having, it appears, shut up all the passages by the north, it could not pass from the southern parts of Asia and Africa into America, as these two continents are separated by immense seas; on which account we ought to infer, that the American lion is an animal proper and peculiar to the new world."

birds, and reptiles, perished, except a few individuals which were saved in the ark, to generate their species. The repeated expressions which the sacred historian uses to signify its universality, do not permit us to doubt, that all quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, which are in the world, descended from those few individuals which were saved from the general inundation.

II. The first peoplers of America might pass there in vessels by sea, or travel by land, or by ice. 1. They might either pass there in vessels designedly, if the arm of the sea which separated the one continent from the other was small; or be accidentally carried upon it by winds. There is not a doubt that the first peoplers of the new world might arrive there in the same manner in which, many centuries after, the pilot or mariner did to whom, in the opinion of many authors, Columbus owed the first hints which incited him to his glorious and memorable discovery (*f*). 2. They might pass there by land on the supposition of the union of the two continents. 3. They might also make that passage over the ice of some frozen arm of the sea. No person is ignorant how vast and durable the frozen parts of the northern seas are: it would not therefore be wonderful, that a strait of the sea between the two continents should have been frozen for some months, and that men had passed over it, either in search of new countries or in pursuit of wild beasts. We are, however, only mentioning what could have happened, not what positively did happen.

III. The ancestors of the nations which peopled the country of Anahuac, of which alone we are treating, might pass from the northern countries of Europe into the northern parts of America, or rather from the most eastern parts of Asia to the most westerly part of America. This conclusion is founded on the constant and general tradition of those nations, which unanimously say that their ancestors came into Anahuac from the countries of the north and north-west. This tradition is confirmed by the remains of many ancient edifices built by those people in their migrations, which we have already mentioned,

(*f*) Some authors affirm, that the mariner who gave intelligence to Columbus of the new countries in the west, was a native of Andalusia; some say he was of Biscay, and others that he was a Portuguese; others deny the fact entirely. However the case was, it is certain that history records many instances of vessels having been driven by winds, and carried many degrees out of their course.

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and the common belief of the people in the north. Besides, from Torquemada and Betancourt we have a clear proof of it. In a journey made by the Spaniards, in the year 1606, from New Mexico unto the river which they call *Tison*, six hundred miles from that province, towards the north-west, they found there some large edifices and met with some Indians who spoke the Mexican language, from whom they were told, that a few days journey from that river towards the north was the kingdom of Tollan, and many other peopled places, from whence came those who peopled the Mexican empire; and that by the same peoplers these and other like buildings had been erected. In fact, the whole people of Anahuac have usually affirmed, that towards the north-west and the north, there were the kingdoms and provinces of Tollan, Teocolhuacan, Amaquemecan, Aztlan, Tehuajo, and Copalla, names which are all Mexican, and the discovery of which, if the population of the Spaniards should spread into those parts, will throw great light on the ancient history of Mexico. Boturini says, that in the ancient paintings of the Toltecas, was represented the migration of their ancestors through Asia and the northern countries of America, until they established themselves in the country of Tollan, and even endeavours to ascertain in his General History the route they pursued in their travel; but as he had not opportunity to compose the history which he designed, we can say no more of this matter.

Those countries in which the ancestors of those nations established themselves, being situated towards that part where the most westerly coast of America approaches to the most easterly part of Asia, it is probable that by that part they passed from the one to the other continent; either in vessels, if the strait of the sea then divided them which is there at present, according to the discoveries of the Russians, or by land, if the continents were united, as we shall presently find. The traces which those nations left of themselves from time to time, led us to that very strait which is undoubtedly the same which was discovered by the navigators of the sixteenth century, and called by them the *Straits of Anian* (g).

(g) In the charts of America published in the last century, the strait of Anian was usually described, though with much difference in the representation of it. For some years past it has been omitted, from an opinion that the account of it was fabulous; but since the discoveries of the Russians some geographers have begun again to give it a place.

With respect to the other nations of America, as there is no tradition among them concerning the way by which their ancestors came to the new world, we can say nothing of them. It is possible, that they all passed by the same way in which the ancestors of the Mexicans passed; and yet perhaps they may have passed by some other very different route. We conjecture, that the ancestors of the nations which peopled South America went there by the way in which the animals proper to hot countries passed, and that the ancestors of those nations inhabiting all the countries which lie between Florida and the most northern part of America, passed there from the north of Europe. The difference of character which is discoverable in the three above-mentioned classes of Americans, and the situation of the countries which they occupied, make us suspect that they had different origins, and that their ancestors came there by different routes; but still this is a mere suspicion and conjecture.

Some authors assign another part for the passage of the first peoplers, which is the Island Atlantida; the existence of which, contradicted by Acosta, was maintained by Siguenza, by what appears from the account of Gemelli, and lately supported with great shew of erudition by the celebrated author of the American Letters. If there were not so many fables mixed with the account of that island which Plato gives in Timæus, the authority of so grave a philosopher might induce us to assent to his opinion. We shall, therefore, omit this contest, and come to the most difficult point of our problem.

IV. The quadrupeds and reptiles of the new world passed there by land. This fact will be made most manifest, by demonstrating the improbability and inconsistency of other opinions. The great doctor of the church Augustin, was of opinion, that the wild beasts and destructive animals which are in the islands might have been transported there by the angels. But this solution, although it cuts off every difficulty in the passage of wild beasts to the new world, would not be acceptable in the century in which we live.

The same doctor suggests three other solutions to the difficulty: the wild beasts, he says, might pass by swimming to the isles; they might be transported there by men for the sake of hunting; and they might also have been formed there by nature as they were in the beginning.

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But none of these solutions are sufficient to remove the difficulties which are in the way of the passage of the wild beasts to the new world ; for as to the first, it is certain that whatever strait there was between the two continents, it is quite ridiculous to think that animals which are not destined to go into the water or accustomed to swimming, would attempt such a passage : it is true, that some might have passed by swimming, as the bears go from Corsica to France ; but who would believe this of so many American apes, that are totally unfitted for swimming ; or the *Perico ligero*, or sloth, which is so slow and difficult to move ? Besides, what could induce so many wild animals to abandon the land and encounter the dangers of the sea ?

It is not less incredible, that those animals were transported there by men in ships, especially if we suppose their arrival on the coasts of America to have been accidental and fortuitous. If such voyage was undertaken from design, they might have carried some squirrels and curious apes with them for amusement, some rabbits, hares, and *techichis*, that, after multiplying, they might serve for food, and some deer, martins, and even tygers, for their skins to clothe them ; but to what purpose carry wolves, foxes, American lions, &c. which, instead of being of any use, might prove destructive to them ? For the chase ? But might they not have enjoyed this recreation without any injury from animals less ferocious ? And if, lastly, we suppose those first peoplers so foolish as to carry such pernicious animals to new countries to hunt them, we cannot still think them to have been so mad as to take also so many species of serpents, for the pleasure of killing them afterwards.

With respect to the third solution, that God had created the animals in America, as he had created them in Asia, that would unquestionably cut off every difficulty, were it not contradictory to sacred history.

There remains another solution of the passage of beasts, which is the same that we mentioned in treating of men. It may be imagined that beasts might pass over some frozen strait of the sea ; but can any person persuade himself, that several species of voracious animals should transport themselves to those regions destitute of every thing which could serve for their food ; and that others, whose natures were repugnant to cold, should dare to venture. in the rigor of winter, over regions of ice ?

As it is not probable that the beasts of the new world passed to it by swimming, or over ice, nor that they were transported, either by men, or by angels, nor created afresh by God, we ought to believe that the quadrupeds, as well as the reptiles, which are found in America, passed to it by land, and of course, that the two continents were formerly united. This is the opinion of Acosta, Grotius, Buffon, and other great men. We are far from adopting the system of count de Buffon in its full extent: he cannot persuade us, however eloquent his philosophy and great his learning, that that which is now land, has once been the bed of the sea; or that the old continent has been subject to a general inundation, distinct from that of Noah, and more lasting than it. In the series of forty centuries and upwards, comprehended in the history of the Sacred Writings, there is no chasm or void, by which we could account for this supposed inundation. In our third Dissertation we shall shew there are no grounds to believe that the new continent has suffered any inundation different from that of Noah.

There is not a doubt, however, that our planet has been subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge; ancient and modern histories confirm the truth which Ovid has sung in the name of Pythagoras:—

*Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam solidissima tellus,
Esse fretum; vidi factas ex æquore terras.*

At present they plough those lands over which ships formerly sailed, and now they sail over lands which were formerly ploughed: earthquakes have swallowed some lands, and subterraneous fires have thrown up others: the rivers have formed a new soil with their mud: the sea retreating from the shores, has lengthened the land in some places; and advancing in others, has diminished it: it has separated some territories which were formerly united, and formed new streights and gulfs. We have examples of all these revolutions in the past century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubœa, now the Black Sea, to Bœotia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, say the same thing of Spain and Africa, and affirm, that by a violent irruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean sea was

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 formed. Among the people of Ceylon there is a tradition, that a similar irruption of the sea separated their island from the peninsula of India. The same thing is believed by those of Malabar, with respect to the isles of Maldivia, and by the Malayans with respect to Sumatra. It is certain, says the count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has lost thirty or forty leagues, which the sea has taken from it; on the contrary, Tongres, a place of the Low Countries, has gained thirty leagues of land from the sea. The northern part of Egypt owes its existence to inundations of the Nile (*h*). The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and deposited in its inundations, has formed a soil of more than twenty-five cubits of depth. In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow River in China, and that of Louisiana, have only been formed of the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report innumerable examples of similar revolutions, which we omit, that our Dissertation may not become too prolix; as also many modern revolutions, which are related in the theory of the earth of the count de Buffon, and other authors. In our America, all those who have observed with philosophic eyes the peninsula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the sea; and, on the contrary, in the channel of Bahama many indications shew the island of Cuba to have been once united to the continent of Florida. In the streight which separates America from Asia many islands are found, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we suppose to have been swallowed up by earthquakes; which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanos which we know of in the peninsula of Kamtschatka. We imagine, however, that the sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, has been occasioned by those great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the histories of the Americans, which formed an æra almost as

(*h*) Faro or Farion, an island of Egypt, which, according to what Homer mentions in his *Odyssey*, was distant one day and one night's sail from the northern land of Egypt, was so near to it in the times of the celebrated Cleopatra, that it was hardly seven furlongs off: for so much was the length of the bridge which that queen ordered to be made for the Rhodians, in order to facilitate the communication between that island and the continent. Herodotus, Aristotle, Seneca, Pliny, and other ancient authors, make mention of this remarkable augmentation of the territory of Egypt.

memorable as that of the deluge. The histories of the Toltecas fix such earthquakes in the year I Tecpatl; but, as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake should overwhelm the isthmus of Suez, and there should be at the same time as great a scarcity of historians as there were in the first ages after the deluge, it would be doubted in three or four hundred years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa, and many would firmly deny it.

V. The quadrupeds and reptiles of America passed by different places from the one continent to the other. Amongst the American beasts, there are some whose natures are averse to cold; such as apes, dantes, crocodiles, &c. There are others, whose dispositions lead them to cold countries, as martens, rein-deer, and gluttons. The former could not go to America by the frigid zone, because in that case they would be acting violently against their genius, and would not survive the passage. The apes which are in New Spain passed there certainly by South America (*i*). The center of their population is the country under the equator, and between it and the fourteenth or fifteenth degree of latitude; in proportion to the distance from the equator their numbers decrease, and beyond the tropics there are none to be found, except in some districts, which, from some particularity of situation, are as hot as the equinoctial lands. Who, therefore, can imagine that such species of animals should have travelled to the new world through the rigid climate of the north? It may be said, that it is not improbable that they were transported by men, as they were valued for their extravagant resemblance and ridiculous imitations of men. But besides that, the argument which this forms in regard to apes, may be adduced with respect to many other quadrupeds which have no value to make them be coveted, but rather many bad qualities to make them be avoided; it is not to be believed, that men would have conducted with them so many species of apes as there are in America; and far less, some,

(*i*) Don Ferdinand d'Alba Ixtlilzoehitl, an Indian well informed in the antiquities of his nation, says in his Universal History of New Spain, that there were no apes in the country of Anahuac; that the first which appeared there came from the quarter of the South, after the period of the great winds. The Tascalans make a fable of this event, and say, that the world was destroyed once by wind, and that the few men who survived were transformed into apes.

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which instead of being agreeable, are on the contrary of a brutal aspect and ferocious disposition, namely, those called *zambos*; and, provided men had been determined to have taken two individuals at least of every species, they could never arrive either by the seas or the countries of the north, although their conductors had endeavoured to defend them from the cold. They must, therefore, have transported them from the hot countries of the old continent to the warm countries of the new world, over a sea subject to a clime not dissimilar to that of the native country of those quadrupeds, that is, by the countries of the south of Asia to the south of America, over the Indian and Pacific Oceans, or from the western countries of Africa to the eastern countries of America, over the Atlantic Ocean. If men, therefore, transported those beasts from the one to the other world, they did it across those seas. But was this navigation casual or designed? If casual, how and wherefore did they conduct so many animals with them? If it was designed, and with a determined purpose to pass from the one to the other world, who gave them intelligence of it? Who shewed them the situation of those countries? Who pointed out their course? How did they venture to cross such vast seas without the compass? In what vessels? If they landed there happily, why does there not remain among the Mexicans some memory of their construction?

Besides, in the torrid zone of the new world crocodiles are common animals which require a hot or temperate clime, and live alternately on land or in sweet water; how did such animals pass there? Not by the north, certainly; because their nature is strongly averse to cold; neither were they transported by men, we may safely say; as little can we think by swimming two thousand miles through the salt waters of the ocean.

There remains no other solution, but that of admitting an ancient union between the equinoctial countries of America and those of Africa, and the continuation of the northern countries of America with those of Europe or Asia; the latter for the passage of beasts of cold climes, the former for the passage of quadrupeds and reptiles peculiar to hot climes. For the reasons we have already submitted, we are persuaded, that there was formerly a great tract of land which united the now most

eastern part of Brazil to the most western part of Africa; and that all that space of land may have been sunk by some violent earthquakes, leaving only some traces of it in the isles of Cape de Verd, Fernando de Norona, Ascension, St. Matthew, and others: and many sand-banks discovered by different navigators, and in particular by de Buache, who sounded that sea with great care and exactness (*k*). Those islands and sand-banks may probably have been the highest parts of that sunken continent. In like manner we believe that the most westerly part of America was formerly united by means of a smaller continent to the most easterly part of Tartary, and perhaps America was united also by Greenland with other northern countries of Europe.

Upon the whole, from all we have said, we cannot but believe that the quadrupeds and the reptiles of the new world passed there by land, and by different parts, to that continent. All other systems are subject to heavy difficulties; even this is not without some, but they are not altogether insurmountable. The greatest consists in the apparent improbability of an earthquake so great as to sink a space of land of more than one thousand five hundred miles, which, according to our supposition, was that which united Africa to America, and sunk it so much as to the depth, observed in some of the places of that sea. But we do not ascribe that stupendous revolution to one single shock, as there are in the bowels of the earth such extensive masses of combustible matter, the inflammation of one could easily communicate to others, (in the same manner as Gassendus explains the propagation of lightning) and the violent concussion of the air, contained within those natural mines, could at once shake, agitate, and overwhelm a space of land of two or three thousand miles. This is not impossible, nor improbable, nor is history unfurnished with examples of it. The earthquake which was felt in Canada, in the year 1663, overwhelmed a chain of mountains of freestone more than three hundred miles long, the whole of that immense tract remaining changed into a plain. How great then must the convulsion have been which was occasioned by

(*k*) M. de Buache, in the year 1737, presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris the hydrographical charts of that sea, made according to his observation, which were examined and approved of by the Academy. The celebrated author of the *American Letters* has inserted a draft of those charts in the second volume of his work.

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those extraordinary and memorable earthquakes, mentioned in the histories of America, when the world was thought to have been coming to an end?

It may be objected to our system, that if beasts passed by land from the one continent to the other, it is not easy to divine the cause why some species passed there without leaving a single individual in the old continent; and, on the contrary, that some entire species should remain in the old continent, and not a single individual of them pass to America. Why, for example, did the fourteen species of apes, which are now in America, pass there, and not the eighteen species which count Buffon enumerates in Asia and Africa, although they are all of one clime, and were equally at liberty and freedom to pass? How came the sloths to pass, which are so sluggish, and not the antelopes which are so swift? If the beasts proceeded from Armenia towards America, the species destined for America must necessarily have performed a journey of six thousand miles, spreading from Armenia through Mesopotamia and Syria to Egypt, from thence through the center of Africa to the supposed space of land which formerly united the two continents, and from that, lastly, to Brasil; and although to other beasts there appears no difficulty of their having made that progress in ten, twenty, or forty years, nevertheless with respect to the sloths, it is not to be comprehended how they could, even in constant motion, execute this in less than six centuries. If we give credit to the count de Buffon, the sloths cannot advance more than a perch in an hour or six Parisian feet, wherefore, to make a progress of six thousand miles, they would require about six hundred and eighty years and more, if we believe what Maffei, Herrera, and Pison have written, who affirm, that that miserable quadruped can hardly go the length of a stonethrow in fifteen days or a fortnight.

This is what may be objected to our system, but some of the above mentioned arguments are more forcible against all the other opinions, except the one which employs the angels in the transportation of beasts. If they were men who transported beasts, why, instead of wolves and foxes, did they not carry horses, oxen, sheep, and goats? And why did not they leave a species of each individual in the old continent? If such animals are supposed to have passed by swimming,

then the difficulty of the sea passage to land animals comes in the way. If all the animals are supposed to have passed, even those of South America by the north, then, instead of making a journey of six thousand miles, they must have made one of more than fifteen thousand, for which length of way their sloth would have had occasion for more than one thousand seven hundred and forty years.

We answer then to the above objections, 1. That as all the quadrupeds of the earth are not yet known, we cannot say how many are in the one or in the other continent. The count de Buffon numbers only two hundred species of quadrupeds. Bomare, who wrote a little after that author, makes them two hundred and sixty-five; but to say how many more there may be, until we have examined the inland regions of Africa, of a great part of Tartary, the country of the Amazons, North Louisiana, the countries beyond the river *Colorado*, the country of the Apaches, the Salamon Isles, New Holland, &c. which countries make a considerable part of our globe. It is not wonderful that the animals of these unknown countries are still strangers to us, when those of countries which have been known, and inhabited for these two hundred and sixty years by the Europeans, are yet unnoticed by zoologists. The count de Buffon, although he is the most informed on this subject, omits some quadrupeds of Mexico, places many out of their native country, and confounds others together, as we shall shew in our Dissertation on animals. But with respect to the animals which are certainly not original in America, such as camels, elephants, and horses, several reasons may be assigned for this want. Possibly those animals did pass to the new world, but were destroyed by other wild beasts, or extirpated by some distemper. Perhaps they never did pass there. Some, such as elephants and rhinoceroses, the multiplication of which is slow, stopped in the southern parts of Asia and Africa, because they found a climate agreeable and suitable to their natures, and had not occasion therefore to go further for pastures or food. It is true, that many authors are persuaded that the great bones dug up near the river Ohio, and other places of America, have belonged to elephants, which would argue their ancient existence in that continent; but as modern zoologists are not agreed with respect to the species of quadruped to which such bones may have belonged, no argument from them can

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be deduced against us (*l*). Lastly, other beasts did not pass to the new world, perhaps because men detained them. But however the matter may be, the passage of some beasts and not of others proves nothing against our system.

With respect to the calculation above mentioned, of what time the sloth would require to remove from America to Brazil, it raises no inconvenience; for if it had occasion for more than a thousand years, on the supposition we made of the union of the two continents continuing all that time, it might arrive there at last. The count de Buffon declares, that authors have exaggerated the slowness of the sloth; and Mr. Aubenton acknowledges, that it was not so slow as the turtle. Besides, it being a harmless animal, it may have been transported by men.

(*l*) Muller said, that those bones belonged to certain large quadrupeds, which he called *Mammouts*. The count de Buffon, trusting too much to him, computed that those quadrupeds were seven times larger than elephants. Some have believed that those bones belonged to sea-horses, some to other sea-animals; and, lastly, some have thought they belonged to some unknown quadrupeds that are now extinct: but they may, from what appears, have belonged to giants of the human as well as of any other race.

DISSERTATION II.

On the Principal Epochs of the History of Mexico.

THE different opinions of authors concerning the chronology of the history of Mexico, oblige us to examine with attention the epochs of the principal events. If we had done this in the body of our history, it would have interrupted the narration with unseasonable disputes. The variety of sentiments among writers on this head, arises from their not having adjusted the Mexican years with ours. We have laboured with great diligence to investigate the truth, and we think we have in great part succeeded, as we shall endeavour to shew in the present dissertation, which will, however, prove little interesting to those who have no taste for, or curiosity in points of chronology.

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SECT. I.

On the Epoch of the Arrival of the Toltecas, and other Nations in the Country of Anahuac.

WE do not treat now of the first peoplers, but only of those nations who make a conspicuous figure in our history. Authors in the first place disagree about the order of the arrival of such nations; as the Chechemecas, for example, who, according to Acosta, Gomara, and Siguenza, were the first to arrive in that country, and, according to Torquemada, the third were the fourth, if we believe Boturini. Nor are they less discordant about the arrival of every other nation.

None of them doubt that the Toltecan nation was very ancient. It appears from the histories of the Chechemecas, that they did not arrive in Anahuac until after the ruin of the Toltecas, whose buildings they met with in their travels, and remains of whom they found on the banks of the Mexican lakes, and other places. In this point Torquemada, Betancourt, and Boturini are agreed. Acosta and Gomara make no mention of the Toltecas, because perhaps those authors whom

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 II. but little and obscure.

With respect to the time of their arrival in Anahuac, Torquemada says, in book III. of his history, that it happened in the year 700 of the vulgar era; but from what he writes in book I. it appears to have happened in 648. Boturini makes them one century more ancient, as he believed that in 660 Ixtlalcuechahuac, the second king of that nation, was reigning in Tula. From their pictures we know, that they left Huchuetlapallan in the year I Tecpatl; that, after having travelled one hundred and four years, they settled in Tollantzinco, and then in Tula; and that their monarchy, commencing in the year VII Acatl, lasted three hundred and eighty-four years. After comparing these epochs of the Toltecas with those of the Chechemecas, their successors, we are persuaded that the departure of the former from Huchuetlapallan happened in 544, and that their monarchy began in the year 667. Whoever will trace back towards that time, the series of Mexican years contrasted with Christian years, set forth at the end of our first volume, will find the year 544 of the vulgar era to have been I Tecpatl, and the year 667 to have in like manner been VII Acatl. There is no reason to anticipate these epochs, nor can they be postponed without confounding those of other later nations. That monarchy having begun then in 667, and lasted three hundred and eighty-four years, the end of it, and ruin of the Toltecas, ought to be fixed in the year 1051.

Between the ruin of the Toltecas and the arrival of the Chechemecas, Torquemada allows but nine years; this interval is too small, because the Chechemecas found, as the same author says, the edifices of the Toltecas in ruins; and it is improbable that they would have gone to ruin in only nine years. Besides, we cannot fix the beginning of the Chechemecan monarchy in that century, without increasing the number of their kings, or prolonging their lives immoderately, as Torquemada has done. Who can believe that Xolotl reigned a hundred and thirteen years, and lived two hundred? That Nopaltzin his son lived one hundred and seventy; that Techotlala, his great great grandson should reign one hundred and four; and Tezozomoc, his descendant, should reign in Azcapozaleo one hundred and sixty, or one hun-

dred and eighty years? It is true, that a man of robust constitution, assisted by sobriety of life, and so mild a clime as that of Mexico, might arrive at so advanced an age; and in that country there are not a very few examples of men who have prolonged their life beyond the regular time prescribed to mortals. Calmecahua, one of the Tlascalan captains who assisted the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico, lived one hundred and thirty years. Pedro Nieto, a Jesuit, died in the year 1536, at the age of one hundred and thirty-two years. Diego Ordoñez, a Franciscan, died in Sombrerete aged one hundred and seventeen (*m*), making preachings to the people until the last month of his life. We could make a long catalogue of those who in the two centuries past have exceeded one hundred years of life in these countries. Particularly among the Indians there are not a few who reach ninety and one hundred years, preserving to old age their hair black, their teeth firm, and their countenance fresh; but as there have been so very few who since the twenty-third century of the world have prolonged their lives to one hundred and fifty years, that they are regarded as prodigies, we cannot assent to the extravagant chronology of Torquemada, supported only perhaps on the evidence of some painting or history of the Tezucans, and particularly as that author himself confesses that that nation kept no account of years. We believe, however, without hesitation, that the arrival of the Chechemecas in Anahuac happened in the twelfth century, and probably towards the year 1170.

Eight years had scarcely elapsed after Xolotl, the first Chechemecan king, was established in Tenajuca, when new people arrived there, conducted, as we have already said, by six chiefs. We do not doubt that these new people were the six tribes of the Xochimilcas, Tepanecas, Colhuas, Chalchese, Tlahuicas, and Tlascalans, separated from the Mexicans in Chicomoztoc, and arrived in the vale of Mexico not all at once, but in the order and distance of time we have mentioned. It is certain that when the Acolhuas arrived a few years after, they found the city of Azcapozalco already founded by the Tepanecas, and Colhuacan by the Colhuas. It is known besides, that these tribes

(*m*) Diego Ordonez lived in religion one hundred and four years, and in the priesthood almost ninety-five. In his last preaching he took leave of the people of Sombrerete with those words of St. Paul: " Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, &c."

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came to that country after the Chechemecas, as their arrival happened in that interval between the arrival of the Chechemecas and that of the Acolhuas.

There is no memory of any other people who came into Anahuac about that time, except those tribes conducted by the above mentioned chiefs. Acosta makes these tribes almost three centuries more ancient, as he says they arrived on the banks of the Mexican lake in the year 902, after a peregrination of eighty years; but this chronology does not accord well with history, from which it appears that when Xolotl arrived at the vale of Mexico with his colony of Chechemecas, he found the banks of that lake depopulated, and the arrival of this colony could not happen before the middle of the twelfth century, according to what we have said.

The year of the arrival of the Acolhuas is not known; but we do not doubt that it has been towards the end of the twelfth century, because they came a few years after the arrival of those six tribes; and besides, it is evident from history itself, that Xolotl survived their arrival some years.

The last nation, or tribe, which arrived at Anahuac was that of the Mexicans. Among so many historians consulted by us, we have not found one of a contrary opinion, except Betancourt, who makes the Otomies come after them.

Acosta fixes the arrival of the Mexicans on the banks of the Mexican lake in the year 1208, because he affirms that they arrived there three hundred and six years after the Xochimilcas, and other tribes of the Nahuatlacas, who he believes arrived in 902. Torquemada, according to the calculation made by Betancourt founded on his account, dates the arrival of the Mexicans in Chapoltepec in the year 1269. An anonymous Mexican History cited by Cav. Boturini, fixes the arrival of that tribe in Tula in the year 1196, and upon that epoch it appears that several Indian historians are agreed. Besides, this chronology agrees perfectly with all the other epochs; on which account we have adopted it as the most probable, and almost certain. On this supposition it is necessary to say, that the Mexicans arrived at Tzompanco in the year 1216, and at Chapoltepec in 1245; because it is known that they stayed at Tepexic in Tula nine years, and in other places, before they arrived at Tzompanco, eleven years. In Tzompanco they sojourned

seven years, and in other places, before they arrived at Chapoltepec, twenty-two years. After having been eighteen years in Chapoltepec, they passed to Acolco, in 1262, where they remained fifty-two years, and from thence they were conducted slaves to Colhuacan in 1314.

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With respect to the Otomies there is a great difference of opinion among authors: some confound them with the Chechemecas, namely, Acosta, Gomara, and the greater part of the Spanish authors. Torquemada, in book I. distinguishes them expressly, but in other places he confounds them together. Betancourt, after having copied the relation of Torquemada, in every thing relative to the Toltecas, the Chechemecas, and other nations, speaking of the reign of Chimalpopoca, third king of Mexico, says, that in his time the Otomies arrived in Anahuac, and established themselves principally in Xaltocan. This anecdote from Betancourt is deserving of notice; for he undoubtedly took it from the writings of Siguenza, although he does not usually depart from Torquemada, unless it is to follow that learned Mexican; but he errs in chronology when he fixes the arrival of the Otomies in the year VI Tecpatl, which he believes to have been the year 1381. He is certainly deceived, for as it appears from the chronological table put at the end of our second volume, the year 1381 was not VI Tecpatl, but VI Calli; neither was Chimalpopoca reigning at that time, but Acamaptizin, as we shall shortly shew. If the arrival of the Otomies in the Mexican vale (not in the country of Anahuac, where they were settled many years before) happened in the year VI Tecpatl, and under the reign of Chimalpopoca, that must certainly have been in the year 1420. There being no mention of the Otomies before this epoch, and they having been found less civilized than other nations, scattered about in several provinces, and in places surrounded by other nations of different languages, inclines us to believe, that they began to live in society, under the dominion of the Tepanecas exactly at that time, and afterwards under that of the Mexicans and Tlascalans. We are persuaded, that on account of having found the land occupied by other nations, they could not, like the others, establish themselves all in one country, although the greater part of that nation peopled that part of land which is to the north-west, and north of the capital, where at first they lived scattered about like the wild beasts.

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The cause of the Otomies having been confounded with the Chechemecas by many historians, may be gathered from the same history. At the time the ancient Chechemecas were rendered civilized by the Toltecas and Nahuatlacas, many families of that nation abandoned themselves to a savage life in the country of the Otomies, choosing the exercise of the chase rather than the fatigues of agriculture. They retained the name of Chechemecas, and the others who were brought to civilization began to be called *Acolhuas*, honouring themselves with the name of a nation which was esteemed the most polished. Of the Otomies, those who adopted a civil life retained the name of Otomies, by which they are known in history; but the others, who were spread in the woods, and mingled with the Chechemecas, would never give up their barbarous liberty, and were, by many, called Chechemecas, from the name of that celebrated nation; on which account some writers, treating of those barbarians, who, for more than a century after the conquest, harassed the Spaniards, distinguish the Mexican Chechemecas from the Chechemecas of the Otomies; for the one spoke the Mexican language, and the other that of the Otomies, according to the nation whence they drew their origin.

From all that we have hitherto said, we may conclude with the greatest probability possible, in so obscure a subject, that the order and time of the arrival of those nations in the country of Anahuac was as follows:

The Toltecas, in the year 648.

The Chechemecas, about the year 1170.

The first Nahuatlacas, about 1178.

The Acolhuas, toward the end of the twelfth century.

The Mexicans arrived at Tula in the year 1196, at Tzompanco in the year 1216, and the Chapoltepec in the year 1245.

The Otomies entered the vale of Mexico, and began to form into societies in the year 1220.

We know well that the Tepanecas boasted of their city of Azcapozalco being so old, that according to Torquemada they counted one thousand five hundred and sixty-one years from the foundation of it to the beginning of the last century: so that they imagined it to have been founded immediately after the death of our Saviour; but

the error of this opinion appears manifest, from the histories of other nations, which make the Tepanecas little more ancient in Anahuac than the Mexicans, and also from the series itself of the chiefs of Azcapozalco, whose portraits were preserved unto our time in an ancient edifice of that city. They did not count more than ten princes from the foundation of their city, unto the memorable destruction of their state, occasioned by the combined arms of the Mexicans and Acolhuas, which happened, as we shall find, in the year 1425: on which account it would be necessary to allow to each of their sovereigns one hundred and forty years of reign to fill up that period.

The Totonacas, on their part, reported themselves more ancient than the Chechemecas; for the boast of antiquity is a weakness common to all nations. They relate, that having been at first, for some time, established on the banks of the Tezucuan lake; from thence they went to people those mountains, which took from them the name of Totonacapan; that there they were governed by ten lords, each of whom governed the nation precisely eighty years, until the Chechemecas having arrived in Anahuac, in the time of the second lord of that nation, named Xatoncan, at length subjected them to their dominion; and that lastly they were the subjects of the kings of Mexico. Torquemada, who relates this account of the Totonacas, in the third book of his Indian Monarchy, adds, that this is certain and confirmed by authentic histories worthy of faith; but whatever he may say, it is certain that the time of the arrival of that nation in Anahuac, neither is nor can be known, and that the story of the ten lords, who governed the nation each precisely eighty years, is only fit to amuse children.

Still less is it known when the Olmecas and Xicallancas arrived. Boturini says, that he could find neither picture nor monument concerning these nations, although he believes them more ancient than the Toltecas; but still it is unquestionable that they were not the most ancient.

We do not here make mention of any other nations, because their antiquity is absolutely unknown; but we do not doubt, considering what we have already explained and set forth, that the Chiapanese were amongst the most ancient, and perhaps the first of all those who peopled the country of Anahuac.

Concerning the Correspondence of the Mexican Years with ours, and the Epoch of the Foundation of Mexico.

ALL the Mexican as well as Spanish writers, who have made mention of the Mexican chronology, are agreed respecting the method which those nations had of computing their centuries and their years, explained by us in book VI. of our history, and in the latter part of the end of vol. II. Whenever, therefore, we find the correspondence of any one Mexican year with any one Christian year, the correspondence of all the rest will easily be known. If, for example, we know that the year 1780 was the II Tecpatl, as it really was, we are certain that the year 1781 was the III Calli; the year 1782, was IV Tochtli, &c. All the difficulty consists in finding a Mexican year the correspondence of which with a Christian year is absolutely certain and indubitable; but we find this difficulty surmounted, by being assured not less from the ancient pictures of the Indians than by the testimony of Acosta, Torquemada, Siguenza, Betancourt, and Boturini, that the year 1519, in which the Spaniards entered into Mexico, was I Acatl, and of consequence that the year 1518 was XIII Tochtli, the year 1517 XII Calli, &c. so that there is no room for doubt of the exactness of our table, put at the end of volume II. respecting the correspondence of Mexican with Christian years. Those authors who disagree with it, have erred in their calculation, and contradicted themselves. Betancourt, in order to make us comprehend the manner which the Mexicans had of computing years, presents us with a table of Mexican years, contrasted with Christian years, from the year 1663 unto 1688, but this table is erroneous from beginning to end; for the author supposes the year 1663 to have been the year I Tochtli, which is demonstrated to be false by the continuation of our table to that year. He affirms that 1519 was a secular year; by the admission of this error, his chronology cannot but be false throughout. If the year 1519 was I Acatl, as he supposes, with other writers, we shall find, by going backwards in our table, that 1507 was not a secular year, but 1506 was. In order to confirm

his chronology, he adduces the testimony of his friend and fellow-countryman Siguenza, who, he says, found that the year 1684 had been IX Acatl. If this was the case, his calculation would certainly be right; but although we do not doubt his veracity in the citation of Siguenza, we have reason to believe that this learned Mexican corrected his chronology; nor could he do otherwise, when he knew that the year 1519 had been I Acatl, a certain foundation and beginning, on which all the Mexican chronology ought to rest, and from which it is clearly deducible that the year 1684 had not been IX Acatl, but X Tecpatl. Torquemada, in his third book, treating of the Totonacas, says of a noble of that nation, that he was born in the year II Acatl, and that the year before 1519, in which the Spaniards arrived in that country, was, among the Mexicans, the year I Acatl. When Torquemada wrote this, he was either dreaming, or absent in mind; for he knew well, that the year among the Mexicans, which comes after I Acatl, is not II Acatl, but II Tecpatl, and such was the year 1520, of which he speaks.

Supposing then that the year 1519 was I Acatl, and that the correspondence of the Mexican with the Christian years is known, it is not very difficult to trace back the epoch of the foundation of Mexico. All historians, who have consulted the paintings of the Mexicans, or who have been informed by them by words, agree in saying, that that celebrated city was founded by the Aztecas, in the 14th century; but they differ a little as to the year. The interpreter of Mendoza's collection fixes the foundation of it in the year 1324. Gemelli, following Siguenza, makes it in 1325. Siguenza, cited by Betancourt and an anonymous Mexican, cited by Boturini, in 1327. Torquemada, according to the calculation made by Betancourt, from his account, in 1341; and Arrigo Martinez, in 1357. The Mexicans make the foundation in the year II Calli, as appears from the first painting of the collection of Mendoza and others, cited by Siguenza. It being certain, therefore, that that city was founded in the 14th century, and in the year II Calli, that cannot have been in 1324, nor in the year 1327, or 1341, or 1357, because none of those years was II Calli. If we go back from the year 1519 to the 14th century, we shall find in it two years II Calli: that is, 1325 and 1377. But the foundation could not have happened in this last year; for then it would be ne-

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cessary to shorten, very much, the reign of the Mexican monarchs, in contradiction to the chronology of the ancient paintings. Nothing remains to be offered, therefore, but that that celebrated capital was founded in 1325 of the vulgar era: and this was most certainly the opinion of Siguenza; for Gemelli, who had no other instruction on this subject but that which was given him by that learned Mexican, places the foundation of this city in 1325, which he says was the year II Calli. If, at first, he was of a different opinion, he changed it afterwards, on perceiving that it would not have agreed with that fixed principle, namely, that the year I Acatl was certainly the year 1519.

SECT. III.

On the Chronology of the Mexican Kings.

IT is difficult to illustrate entirely the chronology of the Mexican kings, on account of the disagreement between authors. We will avail ourselves of some certain points, to clear up those which are uncertain. In order to give our readers some idea of the diversity of opinions, it will be sufficient to present the following table, where we mark the year in which, according to Acosta, the Interpreter of Mendoza's collection, and Siguenza each of the kings began to reign.

Acosta.	The Interpreter.	Siguenza.
Acamapitzin 1384	1375	3 May 1361
Huitzilihuitl 1424	1396	19 April 1403
Chimalpopoca 1427	1417	24 February 1414
Itzcoatl 1437	1427 1427
Montezuma I. 1449	1440	13 August 1440
Axajacatl 1481	1469	21 November 1468
Tizoc 1477	1482	30 October 1481
Ahuitzotl 1492	1486	13 April 1486
Montezuma II. . . . 1503	1502	15 September 1502

Acosta, and after him Arrigo Martinez, and Herrera, not only disagree with other authors in Chronology, but also in the order of the kings, placing Tizoc on the throne before Axajacatl; whereas the contrary is evident, not less from the testimony of the Mexicans than that of other

Spanish authors. Gomara perplexes the reigns of the lords of Tula with those of the kings of Colhuacan and the Mexican kings. Torquemada points out the years of both, and his chronology disagrees with that of other authors. Solis makes Montezuma II. the eleventh of the Mexican kings; but we know not how he supported so strange a paradox. De Paw, in order to shew his extravagance of genius even in this does not enumerate more than eight kings of Mexico, but it is certain and indubitable that the Mexicans had the nine kings above-mentioned, and after them Cuitlahuatzin and Quauhitemotzin. Some authors do not reckon the two last among their kings, because they reigned for so short a time; but having been lawfully elected and peaceably accepted by the nation, they have as much right to be counted among the kings of Mexico as any of their ancestors. Acosta says, he does not make mention of them because they had nothing but the name of king, as in their time the whole of the kingdom almost was subject to the Spaniards; but this is absolutely false, because when Cuitlahuatzin was elected, the Spaniards had only the province of the Totonacas under them, and they even were rather allies than subjects. When Quauhitemotzin was elected, they had added to that province five other states, and some small places in that neighbourhood; but all those states, compared with the rest of the Mexican empire, were less to it than Bologna is to the whole papal territory.

To investigate the chronology of these eleven kings, it is necessary to adopt another method, beginning with the last, and continuing in a retrograde course to the commencement of the monarchy.

QUAUHTEMOTZIN. This king finished his reign on the thirteenth of August, 1521, having been made prisoner by the Spaniards just as Mexico was taken. The day of his election is not known, but from the accounts of Cortes it is to be inferred, that he was elected in October or November of the preceding year; wherefore he could not have reigned more than nine or ten months.

CUITLAHUATZIN. This king, successor of his brother Montezuma, ascended the throne on the beginning of July, 1520, as appears by the account given by Cortes. Some Spanish authors say that he did not reign above forty days; others say, that he reigned sixty; but from that which

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Cortes heard said by a Mexican officer in the war of Quauhquechollan, it is to be concluded, that that king was alive in October. We do not therefore doubt that his reign was at least three months.

MONTEZUMA II. It is known that he reigned seventeen years and more than nine months, and that he began to reign in September, 1502, and died in the latter end of June, 1520. The reason why some authors have fixed the beginning of his reign in 1503 was, because they knew that he had reigned seventeen years, and made no account of the nine months after them.

AHUITZOTL. Acosta allows this king eleven years of reign. Martinez, twelve; Siguenza, sixteen: and Torquemada, eighteen. I believe we can trace back the years of his reign, and the time of his exaltation, from the epoch of the dedication of the greater temple. This happened, without doubt, in 1486, as several authors agree. On the other hand it appears, that king Tizoc having hardly began this building, Ahuitzotl continued and finished it, which he could not do in the same year in which he began it, nor in two or three years, it having been so vast an edifice as we know it was. Neither could he, in so short a time, have made the war which he did in countries so distant from each other, and procure that surprising number of victims which were sacrificed on that great festival. We believe, therefore, that the commencement of his reign cannot be fixed after 1482, and neither can it be anticipated without confounding the epochs of his predecessors, as we shall presently see. Having begun therefore to reign in 1482, and finished in 1502, we ought to allow him nineteen years some months, or about twenty years of reign.

Tizoc. No person doubts that the reign of this monarch was extremely short, and no author gives him more than four years and a half of life upon the throne. We could resolve the time of his reign, and that also of his predecessor, from that of Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan; for that king having been so celebrated, and had so many historians at his court, we have certain accounts of his reign. Nezahualpilli died in 1516, after having reigned in Acolhuacan forty-five years and some months; the commencement of his reign therefore must be fixed in 1470. It is known also, that the eighth year of the reign of Nezahualpilli was the first of Tizoc, so that this last must

have begun his reign in 1477, and reigned four years and a half, as several historians say. Torquemada says, that he reigned less than three years; but this author contradicts himself openly, not only in this but in many other parts of his chronology, for as he adopts the above mentioned calculation of the reign of Tizoc, he ought to have fixed his death in 1480, and consequently to have given Ahuitzotl not eighteen but twenty-two years of reign.

AXAJACATL. It is known that this king began to reign six years before Nezahualpilli, that is, in 1464, and that he finished, as we have said, in 1477, when his successor Tizoc ascended the throne. From that it is deducible that he reigned thirteen years, as Siguenza and other historians affirm. Acosta does not give him more than eleven years, nor the interpreter of Mendoza's collection more than twelve. It is most probable that the thirteen years were not completed.

MONTEZUMA I. All affirm, that this famous king completed twenty-eight years on the throne. Some give him a year more, because they reckon the months which he reigned more than the twenty-eight years, another year, which has not been reckoned by others. He began therefore to reign in 1436, and finished in 1464. In his time the *Toxihumolpia*, or secular year, was celebrated, not in the sixteenth year of his reign, as Torquemada says, but in the eighteenth, or 1454.

ITZCOATL. Almost all historians give thirteen years of reign to this great king. Acosta and Martinez only give him twelve. The reason of this difference is the same as that above mentioned, that is, Itzcoatl not having completed the thirteen years on the throne, Acosta and Martinez paid no attention to the odd months over the twelve years, whereas the others made a complete year of them. He began to reign in 1323; he could not begin either sooner or later, for he ascended the throne a year after Maxtlaton usurped the throne of Acolhuacan. Maxtlaton reigned three years, and with him the reign of the Tepanecas finished. The following year, that is, three years after Itzcoatl had begun to reign, Nezahualcojotl was established on the throne of Acolhuacan, which had been usurped by the Tepanecas. It is known besides, that Nezahualcojotl reigned forty-three years and some months; he having finished therefore in 1470, it appears that the commence-

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ment of his reign ought to be fixed in 1426, the ruin of the Tepanecas in 1425, the beginning of the reign of Itzcoatl in 1423, and that of the tyranny of Maxtlaton in 1422.

CHIMALPOPOCA. This unhappy king was confounded by Acosta, Martinez, and Herrera, with his nephew Acolnahuacatl, son of Huitzilihuitl; from whence these authors allow Chimalpopoca only ten years of reign, and make him die by the hands of the Tepanecas; but the contrary appears from the paintings and relations of the Indians, cited by Torquemada, and partly seen by ourselves. Siguenza, by inattention, falls into a contradiction; for he says that Chimalpopoca was the younger brother of Huitzilihuitl: of this king he affirms, that he began to reign at eighteen years of age, and that he reigned less than eleven, so that he must have died before he was twenty-nine years of age; and Chimalpopoca, who immediately succeeded him, must have been at least twenty-eight when he began to reign; notwithstanding Siguenza makes him ascend the throne at forty years and upwards. In the collection of Mendoza this king is not given more than ten years of reign. Torquemada and Siguenza give him thirteen, which account is certainly the most probable, considering the series of his actions and events: but Betancourt, following Torquemada, makes many notable anacronisms on this subject. He fixes the election of Chimalpopoca in the time of Techotlalla, king of Acolhuacan; let us suppose that it was in the last year of this king: Techotlalla was succeeded by Ixtlilxochitl, who reigned seven years. Ixtlilxochitl by Tizozomoc, who tyrannized over that empire nine years, and to him Maxtlaton succeeded, in whose time Chimalpopoca died. According to those suppositions adopted by Torquemada and Betancourt, we must give Chimalpopoca at least sixteen years of reign, resulting from the seven of Ixtlilxochitl and the nine of Tizozomoc; which is contrary to their own chronology and that of other historians. If we choose to combine the chronology of the kings of Mexico with that of the kings of Tlatelolco, agreeable to the calculation of the above mentioned authors, there will hardly remain nineteen years to be divided between the two kings Chimalpopoca and Itzcoatl, as we shall afterwards find. Granting therefore thirteen years of reign to Chimalpopoca, according to the opinion of most historians, we ought to fix the beginning of it

in 1410. Maxtlaton succeeded to Tizozomoc, his father, a year before the death of Chimalpopoca, that is, in 1422. Tizozomoc kept the crown of Acolhuacan nine years; having died in 1422, his tyranny began therefore in 1413. With respect to Ixtlilxochitl, the lawful king of Acolhuacan, we know that he reigned seven years until 1413, when his life, together with his crown, was taken from him by the tyrant Tizozomoc; he began therefore to reign in 1406.

HUITZILIHUITL. Respecting the number of years which this monarch reigned historians are extremely different in opinion. Siguenza says, ten years and ten months. Acosta and Martinez gave him thirteen; the Interpreter, twenty-one. Torquemada attests, that among the Mexican historians whom he consulted, some give him twenty-two years, and others twenty-six; but we have no doubt that the true number of years is that mentioned by the Interpreter; because we know from the historical paintings of the Mexicans, that the thirteenth year of this king was a secular year, which, according to our chronological table, must have been the year 1402; he began therefore to reign in 1389. Having died in 1410, as appears from what we have said concerning the reign of Chimalpopoca, we ought to allow Huitzilihuitl twenty-one years of reign.

ACAMAPITZIN. Supposing the chronology of the preceding kings to be just, and the epoch of the foundation of Mexico to be established, we have little to say with regard to the reign of this king. Torquemada affirms, that the paintings and manuscript histories fix the election of Acamapitzin in the twenty-eighth year after the foundation of Mexico. He was elected therefore in 1352, or in the beginning of 1353, and his reign must have lasted thirty-seven years, or something less. The interregnum which happened after the death of this king was of four months, as Siguenza says; whereas all the others were but of a few days.

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Concerning the Epochs of the Events of the Conquest.

IT is not very difficult to trace the epochs of the events of the conquest, because we find them in general mentioned by the conqueror

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Cortes, in his letters to Charles V. but many anacronisms being committed by the Spanish historians, either because they did not consult those letters, or because they were indifferent about knowing on what days the moveable festivals happened in those years of which Cortes sometimes made mention, it is necessary to fix some points of chronology, omitting others of smaller importance, to avoid proving tedious to our readers.

The arrival of Cortes's armament on the coast of Chalchicuecan happened, as every one knows, on Holy Thursday, 1519. This was on the 21st of April, for Easter was that year on the 24th.

The entry of the Spaniards into the city of Tlascala did not happen, as Herrera and Gomera say, on the 23d of September, but on the 18th, as Bernal Diaz, Betancourt, and Solis write. This is easily demonstrated by making a calculation according to the account given by Cortes of the days which the Spaniards staid in Tlascala and Cholula, and those which they employed in their journey to Mexico. Bernal Diaz says, that before they entered Tlascala they were twenty-four days in the territories of that republic, and afterwards twenty in that city; as is also confirmed by the letters of Cortes. They entered Cholula on the 14th of October, and into Mexico on the 8th of November. Six days after Montezuma was made prisoner, as Cortes himself affirms. This general remained in the capital until the beginning of May following, at which time he went to Chempoalla, to oppose Narvaez. He assaulted and gained a victory over his enemy on the Sunday of Pentecost, which that year (1520) happened on the 27th of May. The insurrection of the Mexicans, caused by the violent proceedings of Alvarado, happened on the great festival of the month Toxcatl, which began that year on the 13th of May. Cortes returned to the capital after his victory, on the 24th of June, as every one attests. In the accounts of the events which occurred in the last days of June, and the first days of July, we find some confusion and anacronisms among historians. We have followed Cortes in his letters, which contain the most authentic account of the conquest.

The death of Montezuma appears to have happened on the 30th of June, for he died, according to Cortes, three days after he received the wound from a stone. This happened while those two machines

of war were constructing, of which we have made mention in our history: these were constructed on the night of the 26th of June and the day following, as is to be gathered from the account of this conqueror. We cannot fix the death of Montezuma therefore later nor sooner than the 30th, without perplexing the series of events.

The first of July we make the *noche triste*, that is, the night when the Spaniards came off defeated, for Cortes gives seven days to their journey from Mexico to Tlascala, and affirms that they entered there on the 8th of July. Diaz and Betancourt say, that the Spaniards left Mexico on the 10th, and entered on the 16th into the lands of that republic; but in this particular the greatest faith is due to Cortes. The events which happened from the 24th of June to the first of July will appear many, considering the shortness of the time: but it is not wonderful that in circumstances of such difficulty and danger actions should multiply, as the saving of lives called forth the greatest efforts.

The war made by the Spaniards in Quauhquechollan happened in the month of October, by what appears from the account of Cortes. This epoch becomes of importance to us, in order to know the time which Cuitlahautzin reigned, for a Mexican captain, of whom Cortes gained information of the state of the court, gave him intelligence of the diligence used by that king in preparations against the Spaniards. Those who do not allow Cuitlahautzin to have reigned more than forty days, reject that information as a falsehood; but as they alledge no reason to convince us of its falsity, we ought to believe it.

Concerning the day on which the siege of Mexico began, and the time of its duration, authors in general are mistaken. They say for the first part that the siege lasted ninety-three days; but they have not made the calculation exactly, for Cortes made the review of his troops in the great square of Tezcuco, and assigned the posts which the three divisions were to occupy on the Monday of Pentecost, in the year 1521. But although we should suppose, contrary to the truth of history, that on the same day of the review the siege was begun, there would not be ninety-three, but only eighty-five days; for that Monday happened on the 20th of May, and it is universally known that the siege terminated with the taking of the capital on the 13th of August. If they reckon the hostilities committed on the cities of the lake to

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be part of the siege, they ought to fix the beginning of the siege on the first day of January, and count not ninety-three days, but seven months to it. Cortes, who in this point merits more faith than any other historian, says expressly, that the siege commenced on the 30th of May, and lasted seventy-five days. It is true, that the letter itself of Cortes might occasion an error, for there it is given to be understood, that on the 14th of May the divisions of Alvarado and Olid were in Tacuba, from whence the siege began; but this is a manifest error in the cyphers, for it is certain that those two officers did not go to Tacuba till after the review of the troops; and we know from Cortes, and other historians, that this happened on Monday of Pentecost, the 20th of May.

Torquemada says, in book IV. cap. 46. that the Spaniards entered into Mexico, for the first time, on the 8th of November; but in chap. 14. of the same book he affirms, that this entry happened on the 22d of July; that they remained there one hundred and fifty days, ninety-five days in friendship with the Mexicans, and forty at war with them, which was occasioned by the slaughter made there by Alvarado, on the festival of the month Toxcatl, corresponding, as he believes, to our April, &c. The series of anachronisms, errors, and contradictions, contained in the chapter above cited of this author, is sufficient to give us an idea of his preposterous chronology.

DISSERTATION III.

On the Land of Mexico.

WHOEVER reads the horrid description which some Europeans give of America, or hears the injurious slander with which they speak of its soil, its climate, its plants, its animals, and inhabitants, will easily be persuaded that malice and unnatural rancour have armed their pens and their tongues, or that the New World is truly a cursed land, and destined by heaven for the punishment of malefactors. If we rest faith in count de Buffon, America is an entirely new country, scarcely arisen out of the waters which overwhelmed it (*n*), a continual marsh in its plains, a land uncultivated and covered with woods, even after having been peopled by Europeans more industrious than Americans, or incumbered with mountains that are inaccessible, and leave but a small territory for cultivation and the habitations of men; an unhappy region, lying under a sordid sky, where all the animals that have been transported from the old continent are degenerated, and those native to its clime are small, deformed, weak, and destitute of arms for their defence. If we credit Mr. de Paw (who in a great measure copies the sentiments of count de Buffon, and where he does not copy, multiplies, and exaggerates errors) *America has been in general, and is at present a very barren country*, in which all the plants of Europe have degenerated, except those which are aquatic and succulent. Its stinking soil bears a greater number of poisonous plants than all the other parts of the world. Its lands, either overloaded with mountains, or covered with woods, present nothing to the eye but a vast and barren desert; its climate is extremely unfavourable to the greater part of quadrupeds, and most of all pernicious to men who are degenerated, debilitated, and vitiated in a surprising manner in all parts of their organization (*m*).

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III.(*n*) Hist. Natur. tom. vi.(*m*) Recherches Philosophiques, parte i.

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The historiographer Herrera, although in many respects judicious and moderate, when he makes a comparison of the climate and soil of Europe with America, shews himself eminently ignorant even of the first elements of geography, and utters such absurdities as would not be tolerated in a child. *Our hemisphere*, he says, *is better than the new one with respect to climate. Our pole is more embellished with stars, because it has the north to $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, with many resplendant stars.* By which he supposes, first, that the southern hemisphere is new, though so many centuries are past since it has been known in Asia and Africa. Secondly, that all America belongs to the southern hemisphere, and that North America is not connected with the same pole and stars of the Europeans. *We have*, he adds, *another pre-eminence, which is, that the sun is seven days longer towards the tropic of Cancer than towards that of Capricorn;* as if the excess of the sun's stay in the northern hemisphere was not the same in the new as in the old continent. It appears that our good historiographer was persuaded, that the greater love which that luminary bears to beautiful Europe was the cause of his longer stay in the northern hemisphere. A thought truly gallant, and fit for a French poem, and from whence it comes, proceeds our chronicler, that the Arctic is colder than the Antarctic part, because it enjoys less of the sun. But how can there be less of the sun enjoyed in the Arctic part, when this luminary is seven days longer in the northern hemisphere? *Our land extends from west to east, and is therefore more accommodating to human life than the other, which growing narrow from west to east, enlarges too much from one to the other pole; for the land which lengthens itself from west to east is at a more equal distance from the cold of the north, and the heat of the south.* But if the north is the region of cold, and the south that of heat, as our chronicler supposes, the equinoctial countries, according to his principles, would certainly be the best calculated for human life, from being those which are equidistant from north and south. In the other hemisphere our author concludes, there were no dogs, asses, sheep, or goats, and no lemons, oranges, figs, nor quinces, &c.

These, and other such absurd notions of several authors, are the effects of a blind and immoderate partiality to their own country, which makes them ascribe to it certain imaginary pre-eminences over all others

in the world. It would not be difficult to oppose to their invectives the great praises which many very celebrated Europeans, better informed than them, have bestowed on those countries; but besides that, it would be foreign to our purpose, it would be disgustful to our readers: we shall therefore content ourselves with examining in this Dissertation that which has been written against the land of America in general, or against that of Mexico in particular.

S E C T. I.

On the pretended Inundation of America.

ALMOST all that M. Buffon and M. de Paw have written against the land of America, respecting its plants, its animals, and its inhabitants, is founded on the supposition of a general inundation, different from that which happened in the time of Noah, and much more recent, on account of which that vast country remained a long time under water. From this recent inundation arises, says M. Buffon, the malignity of the climate of America, the sterility of its soil, the imperfection of its animals, and the coldness of the Americans. Nature had not had time to put her designs in execution, nor to take all her extension. The lakes and the marshes left by that inundation, according to the affirmation of M. de Paw, occasion the excessive humidity of the air which is the cause of its insalubrity, of the extraordinary multiplication of insects, of the irregularity and smallness of the quadrupeds, of the sterility of the soil, of the barrenness of the women, of the abundance of milk in the breasts of the men, of the stupidity of the Americans, and a thousand other extraordinary phenomena which he has observed much more distinctly from his closet in Berlin, than we who have passed so many years in America. These two authors, though they are agreed with respect to an inundation, differ with respect to the time of it; for M. de Paw believes it to have been much more ancient than M. Buffon does.

This supposition, however, is ill founded, and the inundation pretended to have happened to the new world is a chimera. M. de

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Paw endeavours to support it on the testimony of Acosta, on the almost infinite number of lakes and marshes, on the veins of heavy metals, which are found almost on the surface of the earth, on the marine bodies which are found heaped together lying in the most low inland places, on the destruction of the great quadrupeds, and, lastly, on the unanimous tradition of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and all the savages from the land of Magellan to the river St. Lawrence, who all testify of their ancestors on the mountains during the time the vallies were laid under water.

It is true that Acosta, in book I. chap. 25 of his history, doubts whether that which the Americans say of the deluge ought to be understood of that of Noah, or of some other particular one which happened in their land, as those of Deucalion and Ogyges in Greece; and it appears also that he inclines to adhere to this opinion, which he says has been adopted by some judicious men: but, notwithstanding in book V. chap. 19, speaking of the first conquest of the Incas, he gives us to understand that he firmly believed, that it ought to be understood of the deluge of Noah. “The pretext, (he says) under which they conquered and rendered themselves masters of the land was that of feigning that after the *universal deluge* (of which all those Indians had knowledge) they had new peopled the world, seven of them issuing from the cave of Pacaritambo, and that all other men therefore ought to render them homage as their progenitors.” Acosta, therefore, knew that that tradition of the Americans respected the universal deluge, and that the fables with which it was blended had been invented by the Incas to establish the right of the empire. What would that author have said, if he had had those proofs in favour of the tradition which we have? The Mexicans, as their own historians affirm, make no mention of the deluge, without commemorating also the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the people, and those three things were represented by them in a single painting, as appears from that picture which Siguenza had from D. F. d’Alba Ixtlilxochitl, and he from his noble ancestors, a copy of which has been given in our history. The same tradition has been found among the Chiapanese, the Tlascalans, the people of Michuacan, of Cuba, and the Indians of the continent, with the circumstance of a few men, with some animals

having been saved in a vessel from the deluge, and to have set at liberty first a bird, which did not return again to the vessel, because it remained eating carrion, and afterwards another, which returned with a green branch in its mouth: this renders it evident that they did not speak of any other deluge than that which drowned all the earth in the time of the patriarch Noah. All the circumstances which have disguised or changed this most ancient and universal tradition among nations, have either been allegories, such as those of the seven caves of the Mexicans, to signify the seven different nations which peopled the country of Anahuac, or the fictions of ignorance or ambition. None of those nations believed that men were saved upon the mountains, but in an ark or vessel, or, if possible, any one thought otherwise, it was certainly because the tradition of the deluge, after so many centuries, had been changed. It is therefore absolutely false that there was an unanimous tradition of an inundation peculiar to America, among all those people who dwelt between the land of Magellan and the river St. Lawrence.

The lakes and the marshes, which appear to Mr. Buffon and Mr. de Paw incontestible marks and traces of this pretended inundation, are, unquestionably, the effects of the great rivers, the innumerable fountains, and the very plentiful rains of America. If those lakes and marshes had been made by that inundation, and not by the causes we have assigned, they would, after so many ages, have been consumed and dried up by the continual evaporation which the heat of the sun produces, particularly under the torrid zone; or at least they would have been considerably diminished; but no diminution is observable, except in those lakes, from which human industry has diverted the rivers and torrents which discharged themselves into them, as in those of the vale of Mexico. We have seen and observed the five principal lakes of New Spain, which are those of Tezcuco, Chalco, Cuisco, Pazcuaro, and Chapalla, and are confident that they have not been formed, nor are preserved, but by plentiful rain-waters, rivers, and fountains. All the world is acquainted, that no rains are more copious and violent, nor any rivers so great, as those of America. Why then invent inundations while we have causes at hand more natural and certain? If the lakes were proofs of an inundation, we ought rather to believe it

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to have happened in the old than in the new continent, because all the lakes of America, including even those of Canada, which are the largest, are not comparable to the Black, White, Baltic, and Caspian seas, which, though vulgarly called seas, are, however, according to Buffon himself, true lakes, formed by rivers which pour into them. If to those we add the lakes of Lemano, Onega, Pleskow, and many others, extremely large, of Russia, Tartary, and other countries (*q*), we will soon discover how much they, who have so exaggerated the lakes of America, had forgotten the nature of their own continent. The lake of Chapalla, which, in the geographical maps, is honoured with the magnificent name of Mare Chapallicum, or sea of Chapalla, which we have also seen, and coasted round three times, is hardly a hundred miles in circumference. But if the rivers, Don, Wolga, Borysthenes, Danube, Oder, and others of the ancient continent, though less by far than the Maragnon, the river of Plata, that of Maddalena, St. Lawrence, Oronoko, Mississippi, and others of the new world, are nevertheless extremely sufficient, according to what Buffon says, to form those lakes which are so great, that they have always been esteemed seas, what wonder is it that the monstrous rivers of America make smaller lakes and marshes? Mr. de Paw says, that those lakes appear receptacles of water, which have not yet been able to issue from those places formerly overflowed by a violent agitation given to all the terraqueous globe. The numerous volcanos of the *Andes*, or American Alps, and of the hills of Mexico, and the earthquakes which are incessantly felt in one part or other of those Alps, let us see that that land is not yet at repose, even in our day. But if that violent agitation was general over the terraqueous globe, how came the lands of Peru and Mexico to be inundated, which are so highly elevated above the level of the sea, as Buffon and de Paw both confess, and not the lands of Europe, which are so very much lower? Whoever has observed the stupendous elevation of the inland countries of America, will not easily persuade himself that the water could rise so as to cover them without inundating Europe. Besides, we may also say,

(*q*) Bomare enumerates thirty-eight lakes in the cantons of Switzerland, and says, that into that of Harlem vessels of great size enter. The lake of Aral in Tartary, has, according to the same author, a hundred leagues of length, and fifty of breadth.

that Vesuvius, Etna, Hecla, and the numerous volcanos of the Moluccas, the Philippine islands, and Japan, and the frequent earthquakes of those islands, and of China, Persia, Syria, Turkey, &c. let us also see that even the old world is not yet at repose in our day (r).

The veins of metals, adds de Paw, which are found in some places on the surface of the earth, appear to indicate, that the soil was once overflowed, and that the torrents carried away part of it. But would it not be better to say, that some violent eruptions of subterraneous fires, which appear manifest in the many volcanos of the Cordilleras, destroying the surface of some soils, left the veins of metals almost naked?

The finding of marine bodies heaped together in some inland places of America, if it should prove the pretended inundation, would prove still more strongly a greater inundation of the old continent; for whereas there are few places in America in which these masses of sea-shells, and other petrified marine bodies, are found; Europe, on the contrary, is almost full of petrifications of such bodies, which demonstrates with certainty that it was formerly overflowed by the sea(s). Every person knows the wonders and the calculations which several French natural philosophers have made of that immense quantity of shells which are seen in Tourain, and nobody is ignorant either that such kind of petrified marine bodies are found also in the Alps. Why then ought we to conclude, from some marine bodies having been found in some places of America, that that country suffered an inundation, and not still more confidently conclude, that Europe has suffered an inundation from such bodies having been found in still greater abundance in many places of it? If the transportation of those bodies to inland places of Europe is to be ascribed to the waters of the universal deluge,

(r) M. de Paw himself, after having made mention of Vesuvius, Etna, Hecla, and the volcanos of Liparis, speaks thus, "Amongst the great volcanos are reckoned the *Paranucan*, in the island of Java; the *Canapis*, in the island of Banda; the *Balaluan*, in the island of Sumatra. The island of Ternate has a flaming mountain, the irruptions of which are not inferior to those of Etna. Of all the islands, small and large, which compose the empire of Japan, there is not one which has not a volcano that is not more or less considerable; and also the Philippine isles, the Azores, the Cape de Verd islands, &c." Letter III. *Sur les Vicissitudes du notre Globe*.

(s) Burguet, in his *Treatise on Petrifications*, and Torribia, in his *Introduction to the Natural History of Spain*, gives us a very long account of the places of Europe and Asia, where petrified marine bodies are found.

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why ought they not to be ascribed to the same cause in America (*t*)? On the contrary, if the waters of the universal deluge were not those which carried the above-mentioned marine bodies into the inland places of Europe, but those of a posterior inundation: if Europe is in general, according to what Buffon says (*u*), a new country: if it is not long since it was covered with woods and marshes, why do we not see in Europe, and why were there not seen two thousand years ago, those stupendous effects of the inundation which those authors see in America? Why have the animals of Europe degenerated like those of America? Why are not the Europeans cold in constitution like the Americans? Why are or have not the women of both the one and the other part of the world been equally barren? Why, if Europe was overflowed like America, and more so, and for a much longer time than it, as is clearly deducible from the arguments of Buffon, has its soil remained fertile, and that of America barren? Why are the skies of Europe so mild, those of America so inclement? Why to Europe should all the blessings have been destined, to America all the evils? Whoever would be better informed respecting those difficulties, may read Buffon on the inundation of Europe.

The last argument of M. de Paw is taken from the extinction or destruction of the great quadrupeds in America, which he says are the first to perish in water. This author believes that anciently there were elephants, camels, sea-horses, and other large quadrupeds in America, but that they all perished in this supposed inundation. But what person will not wonder that elephants and camels, who are so swift, should

(*t*) One of the highest mountains of America is the *Dezcabzado*, situated among the alps of Chili, upwards of five hundred miles from the sea. Its perpendicular height above the level of the sea is, according to Molina, a learned and diligent historian of that kingdom, more than three miles. On the top of this very lofty mountain is found a great quantity of petrified marine bodies, which certainly could not have been carried to that stupendous height by the waters of any partial inundation, different from the deluge which happened in the time of Noah. Neither can it be said that that summit might formerly have been the bed of the sea, and gradually have been raised by subterraneous fires, bearing along with it those marine bodies; because, although this case is not improbable in some places, which we see but a little elevated above the level of the sea, and we even think it may frequently have happened, notwithstanding, in a height so extraordinary as this, it appears entirely incredible: so that those marine bodies, found on that summit, ought to be considered as unquestionable proofs and indubitable traces of the universal deluge.

(*u*) Tom. *Theorie de la Terre*.

perish, and that the sloth which is so slow, and unable to move, should escape? that they could not, as well as men, betake themselves to the mountains, either by swimming, at which they are most dexterous, or by availing themselves of the swiftness of their feet, which is so great, that in one day, according to the account of Buffon, they go one hundred and fifty miles; and yet the sloths could find leisure to ascend to the tops of the mountains, which, according to the account of the same author, can hardly move a perch in an hour? Although we should admit that such quadrupeds have been formerly in America, we are not obliged to believe that their destruction has been occasioned by the supposed inundation, because it might be ascribed to other causes very different. M. de Paw himself affirms (*r*), that if elephants were transported to America, as the Portuguese have attempted, they would meet with the same fortune with camels; that they would not propagate, although they were left in the woods to their own instinct? because the change of aliment and climate is infinitely more sensibly felt by elephants than all other quadrupeds of the largest kind. He likewise declares in another place, that the causes which operate to the destruction of those animals, that is, the quadrupeds of the new world, are difficulties of a high degree, and at the same time one of the most interesting subjects of the natural history of the terraqueous globe. Why then does he decide so positively, that the supposed inundation was the cause of their extirpation?

Buffon endeavours to persuade us of the recent inundation of America by several arguments, to which we will answer in a few words. *If this continent is as ancient as the other*, he says, speaking of America, *why have so few men been found there?* The men who have been found there cannot be called few, but in respect to the very extensive country which they have inhabited. Those who lived in societies, as the Mexicans, the natives of Michuacan, the Acolhuas, and others who occupied all that very extensive tract of the country which lies between nine and twenty-three degrees of latitude, and two hundred and seventy-one and two hundred and ninety-four of longitude, were bodies of people as numerous as those of Europe, which we shall shew

(*r*) Recherches Philosophiques, parte i.

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in another dissertation (*y*). Those who lived more dispersed, formed smaller nations or tribes, because their smaller multiplication has been always a necessary effect of savage life in all countries in the world. "If savages are shepherds, says Montesquieu, they require a great country to be able to subsist in a certain number. If they are hunters, as the savages of America were, they exist in still smaller numbers, and, in order to maintain themselves, form a still less populous nation."

Why, returns Mr. Buffon to ask, were they almost all savage and dispersed? It is not so. How can it be said they were all savage and dispersed; whilst we know that the Mexicans, the Peruvians, and all the people subject to them, lived in societies; which, as Mr. Buffon himself confesses, were extremely numerous, and cannot be called new. The other nations continued savages, from a violent attachment to liberty, or some other cause of which we are ignorant. In Asia, although it is a most ancient country, there are still many nations that are savage and dispersed. Why, he says, have those who were united in societies, hardly counted two or three hundred years since they assembled? This is another error. The Mexicans hardly counted two hundred years from the foundation of their capital; the Tlascalans something more from the establishment of their republic, but those nations, and the others subjected to them, lived in society from time immemorial, as well as the Toltecas, Acolhuas, and Michuacanese. Neither Buffon, de Paw, nor Dr. Robertson, can distinguish the establishment of those nations in Anahuac, from the settlements which they had many centuries before in the northern regions of the world.

"Why, he again asks, were those nations who lived in society ignorant of the art of transmitting to posterity the memory of events by means of durable signs, considering that they had found the manner

^{ff} (*y*) These arguments of the count de Buffon against the antiquity of America, are found in the sixth volume of his Natural History; but a little before, in the same volume, he says thus: "There have been discovered in Mexico and Peru, civilized men, and cultivated people, subject to laws, and governed by kings; they possessed industry, arts, and a species of religion; they lived in cities in which order and government were maintained under the authority of a sovereign. These people are certainly very numerous, and cannot be said to be new," &c.

“ of communicating together at a distance by means of knots on cords ?” DISSERT.
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 What then were the pictures and characters of the Mexicans, and the other polished nations of Anahuac, if not durable signs, destined to perpetuate the memory of events ? See what Acosta has said on this subject, in the sixth book of chap 7. of his history, and what we say in our dissertation on the culture of the Mexicans.

Why, he continues, had they not domesticated animals, nor employed any other than the Llama (z) and Paco, which were not domestic, faithful, and docile, like ours ? Because there were no others which could be domesticated. Does Mr. Buffon think that they should have domesticated tygers, *Pume*, wolves, and other such wild beasts ? M. de Paw reproaches the Americans for their little industry, in not having employed the rein-deer as the Laplanders have ; but those animals were not to be found but in countries extremely distant from Mexico ; and the savages in whose lands those animals were found, would not make use of them, because they had no occasion for them, or it did not come into their minds to domesticate them. Besides, the proposition of Mr. Buffon, taken in so general a sense, is certainly false ; as he himself says, that the *alco*, or *techiche*, a quadruped similar to a little dog, which is common to both Americas, was domesticated by the Indians. In the same manner the Mexicans domesticated rabbits, ducks, turkeys, and other animals.

“ Lastly, their arts,” concludes Mr. Buffon, “ were as rude as their society ; their talents inferior, their ideas not yet developed, their organs rough, and their language barbarous :” the errors contained in those words we shall effectually refute in the following dissertations.

We must, therefore, upon the whole, deny that pretended inundation, as one of those philosophical chimeras invented by the unquiet geniuses of our century ; since among the Americans there has been no memory of any other inundation than that universal deluge of which the Scriptures make mention. We would, on the contrary, say, that if it was true that the deluge of Noah did not overflow the whole earth,

(z) Llama, not Lama, was, according to what Acosta says, the generic name of the four species of quadrupeds of that kind ; but at present it is used only to signify the one which the Spaniards called *Carnus*, that is, the ram of Peru. The other three species are the *Paco*, the *Guanaco* or *Huannaco*, and the *Vicugna*. The name Llama is pronounced *Lyama*.

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S E C T. II.

On the Climate of Mexico.

IF we were to employ ourselves to refute all the absurd notions which M. de Paw has written against the climate of America, a large volume, instead of a dissertation, would be necessary. Let it suffice to say, he has collected all that has been said by several authors, right or wrong, against different particular countries of the New World, in order to present his readers with an assemblage of fictions that is monstrous and horrid, without considering, that if we were to follow his steps, and undertook to make a similar representation of the different countries of which the old continent is composed, (which would not be difficult) we would make a description still more hideous than his; but as it would be foreign to our purpose, we will confine ourselves to treat of the climate of Mexico.

This country, as it is extremely extensive, and divided into so many provinces, different in their situation, is necessarily subjected to a variety of climates. Some of its lands, such as the maritime, are hot, and in general moist and unhealthy; others are like all inland places, temperate, dry, and healthy. The latter are extremely high, the former very low. In some the south wind, in others the east, and in others the north wind prevails. The greatest cold of any of the inhabited places, does not equal that of France or even Castile; nor can the greatest heat be compared to that of Africa, or the dog-days in many countries of Europe. The difference between winter and summer is so little in any part, that the most delicate persons wear the same cloaths in August and January. This and a good deal more which we have already said, respecting the mildness and sweetness of that climate, is so notorious, that there is no need of arguments to support it.

M. de Paw in order to demonstrate the malignity of the American climate, adduces first the smallness and irregularity of the animals of America. Secondly, the size and enormous multiplication of the insects, and other little animals. Thirdly, the diseases of the Americans, and particularly the venereal disorder. Fourthly, the defects of their natural constitution. Fifthly, the excess of cold in the countries of America, in comparison of those of the old continent, situated at an equal distance from the equator.

But this supposed smallness and less ferocity of the American animals, of which we shall treat hereafter, instead of the malignity, demonstrate the mildness and bounty of the clime, if we give credit to Buffon, at whose fountain Sig. de Paw has drank, and of whose testimony he has availed himself against Don Pernetty. Buffon, who in many places of his Natural History produces the smallness of the American animals as a certain argument of the malignity of the climate of America; in treating afterwards of savage animals, in tom. II. speaks thus: "As all things, even the most free creatures, are subject to natural laws, and animals as well as men are subjected to the influence of climate and soil, it appears that the same causes which have civilized and polished the human species in our climates, may have likewise produced similar effects upon other species. The wolf, which is perhaps the fiercest of all the quadrupeds of the temperate zone, is however incomparably less terrible than the tyger, the lion, and the panther of the torrid zone; and the white bear and hyena of the frigid zone. In America, where the air and the earth are more mild than those of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the panther, are not terrible but in the name. They have degenerated, if fierceness joined to cruelty made their nature; or, to speak more properly, they have only suffered the influence of the climate: under a milder sky their nature also has become more mild. From climes which are immoderate in their temperature are obtained drugs, perfumes, poisons, and all those plants whose qualities are strong. The temperate earth, on the contrary, produces only things which are temperate; the mildest herbs, the most wholesome pulse, the sweetest fruits, the most quiet animals, and the most humane men are the natives of this happy clime. As the earth makes the

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plants, the earth and plants make animals; the earth, the plants, and the animals make man. The physical qualities of man, and the animals which feed on other animals, depend, though more remotely, on the same causes, which influence their dispositions and customs. This is the greatest proof and demonstration, that in temperate climates every thing becomes temperate, and that in intemperate climates every thing is excessive: and that size and form which appear fixed and determinate qualities, depend notwithstanding, like the relative qualities, on the influence of climate. The size of our quadrupeds cannot be compared with that of an elephant, the rhinoceros, or sea-horse. The largest of our birds are but small if compared with the ostrich, the condore, and *caouare*. So far Mr. Buffon, whose text we have copied, because it is of importance to our purpose, and entirely contrary to what M. de Paw writes against the climate of America, and Buffon himself in many other places.

If the large and fierce animals are natives of intemperate climates, and small and tranquil animals of temperate climates, as Mr. Buffon has here established: if mildness of climate influences the disposition and customs of animals, M. de Paw does not well deduce the malignity of the climate of America from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals: he ought rather to have deduced the gentleness and sweetness of its climate from this antecedent. If, on the contrary, the smaller size and less fierceness of the American animals, with respect to those of the old continent, are a proof of their degeneracy, arising from the malignity of the climate, as M. de Paw would have it, we ought in like manner to argue the malignity of the climate of Europe from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals, compared with those of Africa. If a philosopher of the country of Guinea should undertake a work in imitation of M. de Paw, with this title, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Europeens*, he might avail himself of the same argument which M. de Paw uses to demonstrate the malignity of the climate of Europe, and the advantages of that of Africa. The climate of Europe, he would say, is very unfavourable to the production of quadrupeds, which are found incomparably smaller, and more cowardly than ours. What are the horse and the ox, the largest of its animals, compared with our elephants, our rhinoceroses, our

sea-horses, and our camels? What are its lizards, either in size or intrepidity, compared with our crocodiles? Its wolves, its bears, the most dreadful of its wild beasts, when beside our lions and tygers? Its eagles, its vultures, and cranes, if compared with our ostriches? appear only like hens. In order to avoid prolixity, we omit other such observations which might be made against Europe, still adhering to the materials and words of M. de Paw. What Buffon and de Paw would answer to that African philosopher, we will now answer to those philosophers of Europe; since their arguments either do not prove, that the climate of America is bad, -or say that the climate of Europe is bad, or at least that the African is better than the European climate.

From the scarcity and smallness of quadrupeds M. de Paw passes to the enormous size, and prodigious multiplication of the insects, and other noxious little animals. "The surface of the earth," he says, "infected by putrefaction, was over-run with lizards, serpents, reptiles, and insects monstrous for size, and the activity of their poison, which they drew from the copious juices of this uncultivated soil, that was corrupted and abandoned to itself, where the nutritive juice became sharp, like the milk in the breast of animals which do not exercise the virtue of propagation. Caterpillars, crabs, butterflies, beetles, spiders, frogs, and toads, were for the most part of an enormous copulence in their species, and multiplied beyond what can be imagined. Panama is infested with serpents, Carthage with clouds of enormous bats, Portobello with toads, Surinam with *lalerians* or *ocorachas*, Guadaloupe, and the other colonies of the islands, with beetles, Quito with niguzs or *chegoes*, and Lima with lice and bugs. The ancient kings of Mexico, and the emperors of Peru, found no other means of ridding their subjects of those insects, which fed upon them, than the imposition of an annual tribute, of a certain quantity of lice. Ferdinand Cortes found bugs full of them in the palace of Montezuma." But this argument, full throughout of falsity and exaggeration, proves nothing against the climate of America in general, much less against that of Mexico. There being some lands in America, in which, on account of their heat, humidity, or want of inhabitants, large insects are found, and excessively multiplied, will

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(*i*) *Defense des Recherches Philosophiques, sur les Americains, chap. 13.*

(*k*) *Pliny Hist. Natur. lib. viii. cap. 19.*

by serpents; another place, near to Ethiopia, by scorpions and poisonous ants; and another by scolopendras; and not so distant from our own times, the Mauritius was going to have been abandoned on account of the extraordinary multiplication of rats, as we can remember to have read in a French author.

With respect to the size of the insects, reptiles, and such animals, M. de Paw makes use of the testimony of Mr. Dumont, who, in his *Memoirs on Louisiana*, says, that the frogs are so large there that they weigh thirty seven French pounds, and their horrid croaking imitates the bellowing of cows. But who can trust to that author, particularly after knowing what M. de Paw says, (in his answer to Don Pernetty, cap. 17) that all those who have written about Louisiana from Henepin, Le Clerc, and Cav. Tonti, to Dumont, have contradicted each other sometimes on one and sometimes on another subject. We wonder however, that M. de Paw should have had the boldness to write that these monsters do not exist in the rest of the world. We know extremely well that there are neither in the old nor new continent frogs of thirty seven pounds in weight; but there are in Asia and Africa serpents, butterflies, ants, and other animals of such monstrous size, that they exceed all those which have been discovered in the new world. In what place of America has a serpent of fifty Roman cubits in length been seen, such as that which was shewn by Augustus to the Roman people at the public spectacles, as historians affirm (*l*), or so gross as that which was killed in the Vatican in the time of the emperor Claudius, and attested by Pliny, an author almost contemporary, in the belly of which an entire child was found. But, above all, where has there been seen, even in the most solitary woods of America, a serpent which can in any manner be compared with that most enormous and prodigious one of one hundred and twenty feet in length, seen in Africa at the time of the first Punic war, and killed with war machines by the army of Attilius Regulus, the skin and jaw-bones of which were preserved in a temple of Rome, until the war of Numantia, according to the testimonies of Livy, Pliny, and other Roman historians? We know very well that some American historian says.

(*l*) Suetonius in Octaviano Cæsare.

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that a certain gigantic species of serpents is to be found in the woods, which attract men with their breath, and swallow them up; but we know also that several historians, both ancient and modern, report the same thing of the serpents of Asia, and even something more. Megasthenes, cited by Pliny, said, that there were serpents found in Asia, so large, that they swallowed entire stags and bulls (*m*). Metrodorus, cited by the same author, affirms, that in Asia there were serpents which, by their breath, attracted birds, however high they were, or quick their flight. Among the moderns, Gemelli, in vol. V. of his Tour of the World, when he treats of the animals of the Philippine islands, speaks thus: "There are serpents in these islands of immoderate size; there is one called *Ibitin*, very long, which, suspending itself by the tail from the trunk of a tree, waits till stags, bears, and also men pass by, in order to attract them with its breath, and devour them at once entirely:" from whence it is evident, that this very ancient fable has been common to both continents (*n*).

M. de Paw would perhaps say, that these monstrous animals were formerly seen in the old continent when its clime was not yet perfected. But when that which the ancients wrote is compared with that which we know of Asia and Africa at present, who is there that will not perceive that the climate of those countries is at present, for the most part, what it was two thousand years ago; that there is the same heat, the same dryness or humidity, the same kind of plants, animals, and men, &c. Besides, even in our days, various sorts of monstrous animals have been seen in those regions which infinitely surpass those analogous to them in the new world. In what country of America could M. de Paw find ants to equal those of the Philippine islands, called *Sulum*, respecting which Hernandez (*o*) affirms, that they are six fingers broad in length,

(*m*) Megasthenes scribit, in India serpentes in tantam magnitudinem adolescere, ut solidos hauriant cervos taurosque. Metrodorus circa Rhyndacum annum in ponto ut supervolantes quamvis alte perniterque, alites haustu raptas absorbeant. Nota est in Punicis bellis ad flumen Bagradam an Regulo imper. balestis tormentisque ut oppidum aliquod expugnata serpens CXX pedum longitudinis. Pellis ejus maxillæque usque ad bellum Numantinum duravere Romæ in templo. Faciunt his fidem in Italia appellatæ boæ in tantam amplitudinem exeuntes ut Divo Claudio, principe occise in Vaticano solidus in alvo spectatus sit infans. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 14.

(*n*) See Bomare on the *Minia* of Africa, and the *Reinberah* of Ceylon.

(*o*) Hern. Hist. Insector. N. Hisp. cap. 30.

and one in breadth? Who has ever seen in America butterflies so large as those of Bourbon, Ternate, the Philippine isles, and all the Indian Archipelago? The largest bat of America (native to hot shady countries) which is that called by Buffon *vampiro*, is, according to him, of the size of a pigeon. *La Rougette*, one of the species of Asia, is as large as a raven; and the *Roussette*, another species of Asia, is as big as a large hen (*p*). Its wings, when extended, measure, from tip to tip, three Parisian feet; and according to Gemelli, who measured it in the Philippine isles (*q*), six palms. Mr. Buffon acknowledges the excess in size of the Asiatic bat over the American species, but denies it as to number. Gemelli says, that those of the island of Luzon were so numerous that they darkened the air, and that the noise which they made with their teeth, in eating the fruits of the woods, was heard at the distance of two miles (*r*). M. de Paw says, in talking of serpents (*s*), “it cannot be affirmed that the new world has shewn any serpents larger than those which Mr. Adanson saw in the deserts of Africa.” The greatest serpent found in Mexico, after a diligent search made by Hernandez, was eighteen feet long; but this is not to be compared with that of the Moluccas, which Bomare says, is thirty-three feet in length (*t*); nor with the *Anacandaja* of Ceylon, which the same author says is more than thirty-three feet long (*u*); nor with others of Asia and Africa, mentioned by the same author. Lastly, the argument drawn from the multitude and size of the American insects is fully as weighty as the argument drawn from the smallness and scarcity of quadrupeds, and both detect the same ignorance, or rather the same voluntary and studied forgetfulness of the things of the old continent.

With respect to what M. de Paw has said of the tribute of lice in Mexico, in that, as well as in many other things, he discovers his ridiculous faith. It is true that Cortes found bags of lice in the maga-

(*p*) Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. xix.

(*q*) Gemelli, tom. v.

(*r*) What Gemelli says respecting the surprising noise of the bats of the island of Luzon, is confirmed by several persons worthy of credit, who have been some years in that island.

(*s*) Defense des Recherch. Philosoph. chap. 22.

(*t*) Bomare Diction. Univ. d'Histoire Natur. V. *Couleuvre*.

(*u*) Id. V. *Anacandaja*.

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zines of the palace of king Axajacatl. It is also true, that Montezuma imposed such a tribute, not on all his subjects however, but only on those who were beggars, not on account of the extraordinary multitude of those insects, as M. de Paw affirms, but because Montezuma, who could not suffer idleness in his subjects, resolved that that miserable set of people, who could not labour, should at least be occupied in lousing themselves (*r*). This was the true reason of such an extravagant tribute, as Torquemada, Betancourt, and other historians relate, and nobody ever before thought of, that which M. de Paw affirms merely because it suited his preposterous system. Those disgusting insects possibly abound as much in the hair and cloaths of American beggars, as of any poor and uncleanly low people in the world; but there is not a doubt that if any sovereign of Europe was to exact such a tribute from the poor in his dominions, not only bags but great vessels might be filled with them.

Lastly, to reserve the examination of the proofs of the bad climate of America, founded on the diseases and defects of the physical constitution of the Americans, to another Dissertation, in which we will demonstrate the errors and puerile prejudices of M. de Paw, let us attend to what he says on the excess of cold in the countries of the new world with respect to those of the old, which are situate at an equal distance from the equator. "Comparing," he says, "the experiments made with thermometers in Peru, by Mess. Condamine and d'Ulloa with those of the indefatigable Mr. Adanson in Senegal, it is easily understood, that the air is less hot in the new than in the old world. Upon calculating, with the greatest possible exactness, the difference of temperature, I believe it will be found equal to twelve degrees of latitude; that is, it is as hot in Africa at thirty degrees from the equator as at eighteen degrees from the same line in America. The liquor did not mount to so great a height in Peru in the torrid zone as it mounted in France at the greatest heat of the summer. Quebec, although it is in the same latitude almost with Paris, has an incomparably more severe and cold climate than it. The difference

(*r*) It is certain that Montezuma was extremely attentive to cleanliness, as well as an enemy to idleness; it is therefore extremely probable that from both these motives he was induced to impose that extraordinary tribute.

“ between Hudson’s Bay and the Thames, situate both in the same latitude, is equally sensible.”

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Although we should grant all this to M. de Paw, it would not assist him to demonstrate the malignity of the American clime. Why would he deduce the badness of clime from the excess of cold in the lands of America, and not rather deduce the badness of climate of the old continent from the excess of heat in countries equidistant from the equator? M. de Paw can form no argument in this point against America, which the Americans cannot powerfully retort against Europe, or against Africa. But all the observations made by him are not sufficient to establish, as a general principle, that the countries of the new world are colder than those of the old continent situated in the same latitude; and still less to make it be believed that there is as much heat in the old continent at thirty degrees of latitude as in the new world at eighteen degrees. M. de Paw says (*y*), that the cold beyond the eightieth degree in the old continent ought to become in November so destructive to men that no mortal could live there; therefore no men should be able to live in America beyond the seventy-seventh degree. How then does he affirm, that in the country of the Esquimeaux there are inhabitants found beyond the seventy-fifth degree of latitude? And if the feeble Americans can subsist in that latitude, we may believe that the hardest Europeans would be able to bear the cold of the eightieth degree. Farther, if this principle were true, it would be as cold in Jerusalem, situated in little less than thirty-two degrees, as in Vera Cruz, which is situated in little less than twenty degrees; which idea none but M. de Paw is capable of entertaining. In like manner other absurd consequences might be deduced, particularly if we were to adopt the calculation of Dr. Michell, who, according to what Dr. Robertson says, concluded, after thirty-three years observation, that the difference between the climate of the old and that of the new world is from fourteen to fifteen degrees, that is, it is as hot in the countries of the old continent at twenty-nine or thirty degrees as in the countries of the new continent, which are at fifteen degrees. It is certain that as there are many

(*y*) Recherches Philosophiques, part iii. sect. i. p. mihi 304.

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countries in America more cold than others of the old continent equidistant from the equator, there are also others more hot. Agra, the capital of Mogul, and the port of Loretto in California, are nearly in the same latitude, and still the heat of that Asiatic city is not comparable to that of the American port. Hue, the capital of Cochin-China and Acapulco, are almost equidistant from the equator, and yet the air of Hue is cool in comparison of that of Acapulco. That other proposition of M. de Paw is equally false and improbable, namely, that in the center of the torrid zone the liquor of the thermometer does not rise to so great a height as it does in Paris in the greatest heat of summer. If that was true, the difference between the American and European climates would not be only twelve degrees, as M. de P. would make it, but forty-nine, that is, as much as the difference of latitude between the center of the torrid zone and Paris. It is true, that, according to the observations made in Quito, and compared with those made in Paris, the heat of that equinoctial city never equals that of Paris in the summer; but it is equally certain, that, according to the observations made by the same academicians with the same thermometers, in the city of Carthagena, which is not the center of the torrid zone, but ten degrees from it, that the usual heat of this city is equal to the greatest heat of Paris, agreeable to the testimony of Ulloa, one of the observers (2).

There are many reasons, besides vicinity to or distance from the equator, which make a country hot or cold. The elevation of the soil, the neighbourhood of some lofty mountain covered with snow, abundance of rains, &c. contribute much to the coolness of the atmosphere; and, on the contrary, low ground, scarcity of water, droughts, &c. must increase the heat. *Ciudad Real*, the capital of the diocese of Chiapa, because it is situated on a high ground, is cool; and the city of Chiapa, of the Indians, at a little distance from it, is extremely hot, because it is situated very low. Chachicomula, a large village, situated at the foot of the very lofty mountain Ozizaba, is

(2) In the year 1725, at Carthagena, the liquor of the thermometer of Reaumur kept at 102 $\frac{1}{2}$, without any variation, except that sometimes it fell to 1024, or rose to 1025. At Paris, the same year, it never rose higher than 1025 $\frac{1}{2}$, in the greatest heats of July and August. *Ulloa's Relation del Viaje a la America Meridional*, part 1. tom. 1.

and, but Vera Cruz, placed in the same latitude, is very hot; and what is more, the air of Ciudad Real is cool in the latitude of $16\frac{1}{2}$, and that of Loreta, in California, in lat. $25\frac{1}{2}$, is very hot.

The observations made by M. de Paw convince us that the climate of America is not so various as that of Europe: that the inhabitants of the New World are not like those of the greater part of Europe, obliged to endure the alternate extremes of excessive cold, and intolerable heat. The more uniform a climate, the more easily are men familiarized to it, and escape those pernicious effects which follow a vicissitude of seasons. In Quito the thermometer does not rise so high as it does in Paris in the summer: but neither does it fall so low as it does in the temperate climes of Europe in winter. What can be more desirable in a climate than a temperature of air which is equally distant from either extreme, such as that of Quito, and the greater part of Mexico? What climate more sweet and kind to life than that in which the delights of the country are enjoyed all the year, and the earth is continually adorned with herbs and flowers; where the fields are covered with corn, and the trees loaded with fruit; the herds and the flocks spare man his fatigues, and have no need of his provision to maintain them, or his roof to resist the inclemency of the weather; neither snow nor frost compel him to keep near a fire, nor do burning heats in summer check his increase: but constantly experiencing the bounty of nature towards him, he enjoys equally in all seasons the social converse of his fellow-creatures, or the innocent recreations of the country. This is the idea entertained by man of a perfect climate; and the poets, therefore, when they strove to extol the happiness of certain countries, used to say, that a perpetual spring reigned in them; as Virgil said of his Italy (a), and Horace of the Fortunate Isles (b), to which he invited his countrymen. Thus the ancients represented the Elysian fields; and also in the Holy Writings, in order to convey some idea of the felicity of heavenly Jerusalem, it is said, that there, there is no heat nor cold!

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(a) *Hæc ver assiduum atque æternis manebat ætas;*

Bos gravidæ pecudæ, læs pomis utitur arbor. Virg. Georg. II.

(b) *Ver ubi longam, tepidasque præbet*

Jupiter hœmas. Horat. lib. II. ode 4.

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Acosta, whose history is called by M. de Paw an *excellent work*, and who was acquainted with the climes of both continents, and at the same time was not partial to America, nor had any interest in extolling it, treating of the American clime, he speaks thus (c): “ When I perceived the mildness of the air, and sweetness of the climate of many countries of America, where it is not known what thing winter is that contracts, or summer which relaxes with heat; where a mat is sufficient for defence from every inclemency of the weather; where it is scarcely necessary to alter cloathing through the whole year; considering, I say, all this, I have many times thought, and I even think at this moment, that if men would disengage themselves from the snares which avarice lays for them, and abandon useless and vexatious pretensions, they might lead in America a life of tranquillity and pleasure; for that which the poets sing of the Elysian fields, or the famous Tempe, and that which Plato told, or feigned, of his island Atlantida, are both to be found in those lands, &c.” Other historians speak the same thing as Acosta of America, and particularly of Mexico and its surrounding provinces, the inland countries of which, from the isthmus of Panama unto the 40th degree of latitude (for those beyond that degree of latitude have not yet been discovered), enjoy a mild air, and a climate favourable to life, excepting a few places, which, either by their being low, are moist and hot, or by being very high, are rather severe in climate. But how many in the old world are not severe and noxious?

S E C T. III.

On the Qualities of the Land of Mexico.

IT is certain, says M. de Paw, that America in general has been, and is at present, a very barren country; but it is rather more certain that this is in general a gross error; and if M. de Paw wishes to assure himself of it, he may obtain information from many Germans, lately

(c) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. ii. cap. 14.

come from America, where some of them have been for many years, and are at present in Austria, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate of the Rhine, and even in Prussia; or he may reperuse that excellent work of Acosta, and he will find there, in book ii. chap. 14. that if there is any land in the world to which the name of Paradise may be applied, it is that of America. This is the expression of a learned, judicious, and impartial European, born in Spain, one of the best countries in Europe; and speaking, in book iii of the countries of the Mexican empire, he says, that New Spain is the best country of all those which the sun surrounds. Certainly Acosta would not speak thus of America in general, and of New Spain in particular, under which name the continent of Spanish North America is comprehended, if America were in general a barren country. Many other Europeans speak not less favourably of America, and particularly of Mexico, whose testimony we must omit, to avoid seeming prolix to our readers (*d*). From the same motive we shall omit also what M. de Paw has written against other countries of the new world, as it would be impossible to examine the complaints made by him against each of them, without filling a large volume; we shall therefore confine ourselves to what belongs to Mexico.

Messieurs Buffon and de Paw are persuaded that all the territory of America is composed of inaccessible mountains, impenetrable woods and wastes, watry plains and marshes. Those philosophers have read in the descriptions of America, that the famous Andes, or American Alps, formed two large chains of lofty mountains, covered in part with snow; that the vast desert of the Amazons consists of thick woods; that Guayaquil, and some other places, are moist and marshy; and so much they have thought sufficient to warrant them to say, that America is nothing but mountains, woods, and marshes. M. de

(*d*) Thomas Gages, the oracle of the English and French, with respect to America, speaking of Mexico, says as follows. "Il ne manque rien a Mexique de tout ce qui peut rendre une ville heureuse; et si ces ecrivains qui ont employé leurs plumes a louer les provinces de Grenade en Espagne et de Lombardie et de Toscane en Italie dont ils font des paradis tenestres, auroient vu ce nouveau monde et la ville de Mexique, ils se dediroient bientot de tout ce qu'ils ont dit en faveur de ces lieux la." Parte i. chap. 22. Thus does an author who could scarcely speak favourably of any thing, represent Mexico.

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Paw read in the history of Gumilla, that which the author says about the method which the Indians of Oronooko had of preparing the terrible poison of their arrows; and in the history of Herrera, or other authors, that the Canibals, and other barbarous nations, made use of poisoned arrows; and this was enough for him to say, that the new continent produces a greater number of poisonous herbs than all the rest of the world. He read that neither corn nor the fruits of Europe grow in very hot countries; and that was sufficient for him to say, that peaches and apricots have only horne fruit in the island of Juan Fernandez (*e*), and that corn and barley have not thriven but in a few countries of the North. Such is the logic adopted by M. de Paw through all his work.

But of all that he says against America, nothing holds true with respect to Mexico. There are certainly very lofty mountains in Mexico, eternally covered with snow: there are large woods, and also some marshy places in it; but the fertile and cultivated soil forms beyond comparison the far greater part of it, as is well known to all those who have visited that country. In all that immense space of land, where wheat, barley, maize, and other kind of grain and pulse with which that country abounds, are sown at present; they formerly sowed maize, pepper, beans, cacao, chia, cotton, and such like plants, which served for the sustenance, clothing, and luxuries of those people, who having been so numerous as we have already mentionéd, and shall elsewhere demonstrate, could not have been able to have provided for their necessities, if the country had been nothing but mountain, wood, and marsh. Mr. de Buffon, who in his first vol. says, that America is nothing but a continued marsh, and in vol. v. affirms, that the inaccessible mountains of America scarcely leave any small spaces for agriculture, and the habitation of men, in the same vol. v. confesses

(*e*) In order to shew how extremely distant M. de Paw is from the truth, we must here observe, that on the miserable island of Juan Fernandez, where he says that peaches ripen well, they on the contrary are small, and very indifferent, according to the information we have had from Abbé D. G. Garcia, who was there seven months, and particularly while the season of fruit lasted. On the other hand, in almost all the temperate and cold countries of Spanish America, where he imagines peaches do not grow, they thrive surprisngly; and in many places, particularly of Chili, and in some of New Spain, they ripen better than in Europe.

that the people of Mexico and Peru were very numerous. But if those people who occupied a very large part of America were very numerous, and lived as he says in societies, and under the controul of laws, America is certainly not a continued marsh: if those people supported themselves, as is certain they did, on corn and fruits which they cultivated, the spaces are not small which the mountains leave for agriculture, and the habitation of men.

The multitude, variety, and excellence of the plants of Mexico, leave us in no doubt of the very singular fertility of its lands. The pasture grounds, says Acosta, of New Spain are excellent, and breed accordingly an innumerable quantity of horses, cows, sheep, and other animals. It is also as abundant in fruit as in any kind of grain. In short, there is no grain, pulse, kitchen-herbs, or fruit, which does not thrive in that soil. The wheat, which M. de Paw scarcely allows to some countries of the North, does not grow in general in the hot lands of New Spain, as it does not in the greater part of Africa, and many other parts of the old continent; but in the cool and temperate lands of that kingdom it thrives well, and is more abundant than it is in Europe.

It is sufficient to say, that the quantity gathered in the diocese of Angelopoli is so great, that with what remained, after all its numerous inhabitants were provided, they supplied the Antilles, and the fleet of ships which formerly came to Havanna, under the name of *Armata de Barlovento*. In Europe there is but one seed-time, and one harvest. In New Spain there are several. "In those lands," says the European author Torquemada, who was there many years, and travelled through the whole kingdom, "where they cultivate wheat, in every season of the year may be seen one crop reaping, another ripening, another still green, and another sowing," which plainly demonstrates the wonderful fertility of the soil. The same author makes mention of several lands which yielded seventy, eighty, or an hundred for one; and as great a multiplication of wheat has been seen in some fields of those countries by us (*f*); which, speaking in general, is

(*f*) We have been in a country of America, where the land yielded commonly fifty for one, and sometimes an hundred for one. In Cinaloa, although it is a cold country, the land, we have been credibly informed, yields two hundred for one. Our learned friend,

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certainly greater than that of Europe, and with less cultivation, as is well known to European superintendants of agriculture who have been in that part of America. What we say of wheat we can also say of barley, although this is not sown but in proportion to the consumption there is made of it, in the support of horses, mules, and hogs. We might say still more of maize, which is the grain peculiarly native to America.

M. de Paw pretends that all the plants of Europe have degenerated in America, except aquatic and juicy plants; and to prove this absurd notion, he says that peaches and apricots have borne fruit in the island Juan Fernandez only. Although we should grant that those fruits grow in no country of America, it would not avail him to prove what he intends to prove, but even this particular is as false as his general proposition. Acosta, treating of those fruits in particular, says, "Peaches, quinces and apricots grow well in America, but best in New Spain (g)." In all New Spain, except the hot countries, those fruits, and all others transplanted from Europe, have thriven and grown in abundance (h). "Lastly," says Acosta, speaking of America in general, "Almost every thing good which is produced in Spain grows there, sometimes better, and sometimes not; wheat, barley, sallads, kitchen-herbs, &c." (i). If he had spoke only of New Spain, he would have omitted that *almost*.

"There is also another advantage," says Acosta, "which is, that the things of Europe are better in America than those of America are in Europe." But this may appear but a small advantage to M. de Paw. It alone would be sufficient however to demonstrate that, if there is any preference, it is to be given to America. In New Spain, many European authors attest, and all who have been the Abbé Molina in his History of Chili, says, that the land of that kingdom usually yields an hundred and fifty for one. The plenty of grain is so great, that it is sold at five paoli the *fonega*, and every year about thirty vessels loaded with it come to Peru.

(g) Acosta, lib. iv. cap. 31. Peaches are so plentiful in New Spain, that they are sold by twenties; and for the smallest currency there, two, three, or four twenties are given. In the kingdom of Chili, they count twelve different species of peaches, some of which are so large as to weigh a pound Spanish, or sixteen ounces. Molina Stor del Chili.

(h) Pears are also sold in twenties at Mexico; and there are upwards of fifty species of them.

(i) Acosta, lib. iv. cap. 31.

there know, that wheat, barley, and every grain of Europe; peas, beans, and every other pulse; lettuces, cabbages, turnips, asparagus, and other sallads and roots, and every sort of kitchen herbs; peaches, apples, pears, quinces, and other fruits; carnations, roses, violets, jessamines, sweet-basil, mint, marjoram, balm gentle; and other flowers and odorous plants brought from Europe all prosper there: but in Europe the plants of America do not, nor cannot in general come to perfection. Wheat grows in the lands of Europe, but much smaller, and not so good as that of America. Of the many delicious fruits of the new world, some, such as the musa and ananas, have thriven in the gardens of the princes of Europe, by means of hot-houses, and great care and attention, but not so well flavoured, or in such abundance, as in their native climes. Others still more valuable than these, such as the chirimoya, the mamey, and chicozapote have not yet, as far as we know, been made to grow, notwithstanding the studied efforts of European industry for that purpose. The cause of this great difference between America and Europe is that which Acosta mentions: that in America there is a greater variety of climate than in Europe; from whence it is more easy to give each plant a temperature proper for it. As it is not an argument of the sterility of Europe, that the plants proper to America do not thrive in it, neither is it an argument of the sterility of some countries of America, that some plants of Europe do not thrive in them; because *non omnia fert omnia tellus. Hic segetes ibi proveniunt felicius urve.* On the contrary, the hot countries in which wheat and European fruits do not ripen, are yet the most pleasant and fruitful.

We do not doubt that if a comparison is made of America with the old continent, they will be found equal in their productions: for Asia and Africa have lands and climes suited to all the plants of America, which, on account of the differences of their nature, could not succeed in Europe. But what advantage is it to Europeans that Asia has abundance while it is at so great a distance? On the contrary, the Mexicans being surrounded by countries of every sort of climate, enjoy all their different fruits. The market of Mexico, like that of many other cities of America, is the emporium of all the gifts of nature. There we find apples, peaches, apricots, pears, grapes, cher-

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Nor is that land less abundant in plants of medicinal nature. To be satisfied of this truth, it will be sufficient to look into the work of the celebrated naturalist Hernandez; in which nine hundred plants, that are for the most part produced in the neighbourhood of Mexico, are described and designed, whose virtues have been ascertained by experience; besides three hundred others, the uses of which are not mentioned; and without doubt there are innumerable others yet undiscovered. M. de Paw, on the contrary, says that America produces a greater number of poisonous plants than all the rest of the world. But what does he know of the plants which are bred in the inland countries of Africa and Asia, to enable him to make a comparison? The soil of America is so fertile, that it is not to be wondered at if there is abundance of every sort in it. But to mention the truth, we do not know that one twentieth part of those poisonous plants which are produced in the old continent have been discovered in New Spain.

With respect to gums, resins, oils, and other juices which the trees yield either spontaneously or with the aid of human industry, New Spain, says Acosta, excels: there are whole woods of acacia, which yields the true Arabian gum; but from its plenty it is not

sufficiently valued. There is besides balsam, incense, copal of many species, liquid amber, tecamaca, oil of fir, and many other juices valuable for their fragrant odours, and medicinal virtues.

Even those very woods with which the land of America is covered, as Buffon and de Paw affirm, demonstrate its fertility. There have been, and there are still, in these most extensive regions, great woods; but there are not so many, as that a journey of five or six hundred miles may not be made without meeting one of them? And what kind of woods are they? for the most part consisting of fruit-bearing trees, such as the musa, mamey, apple, orange, and lemon, in the woods of Coatzacualco, Misteca, and Michuacan; or of trees valuable for their wood or their gums, such as those which separate the vale of Mexico from the diocese of Angelopoli, and those of Chiapa, of the Zapotecas, &c.; besides pines, oaks, ashes, hazels, firs, and a great many others, common to both continents. The trees [peculiar to that land are in still greater number, and of more value. There are whole woods of cedar, as we have already mentioned. The conqueror Cortes was accused by his rivals before Charles V. of having used for the palace which he made be built in Mexico, seven thousand beams of cedar; and he excused himself by saying that it was a common wood in that country. It is in fact so very common, that they make the stakes for the foundation of houses in the marshy places of the capital, of this wood. There are also woods of ebony, that so justly celebrated tree, in Chiapa, Yucatan, and Cozumel; of brasil wood in hot countries, and the odorous wood of aloes in Misteca. The *Tapincoren*, the *Granadillo* or red ebony, the *Camote*, and others which we have mentioned in our history, afford better timber than is to be had in Europe. Lastly, to avoid a tedious enumeration, we refer the reader to Acosta, Hernandez, Ximenes, and other European authors who have been in New Spain, although all they say is not sufficient to convey a competent idea of the fertility of that land. Acosta affirms, that "as well in respect to number
" as to variety of trees produced by nature, there is a greater abundance
" in America than in Asia, Africa, and Europe (*k*)."

(*k*) Acosta, lib. iv. cap. 30.

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The nature and quality of a soil is best discovered by the plants which it spontaneously produces without the assistance of art. Let us compare, then, the productions of Europe with those, not of America, but only of New Spain. "The reason of there being so many "savages in America," says Montesquieu (*l*), "is that the land there "produces of itself many fruits on which they can feed." I believe that those advantages would not be obtained in Europe if the land were left to itself without culture; it would produce nothing but woods of oaks and other useful trees. "Examining," says M. de Paw, "the history and origin of our plants, our kitchen-herbs, our fruit-trees, and also our grains, we find they are all foreign, and have "been transplanted from other climes to our own. We can easily "imagine the misery of the ancient Gauls, and even that of the "Germans, in whose land no fruit-trees were produced in the time of "Tacitus. If Germany was to restore the foreign vegetables which "are not originals of its soil or climate, almost none would remain, "nor would it preserve among its seeds which serve for nourishment "any but the wild poppy and the wild *Vena* (*m*)."

What M. de Paw openly confesses respecting Germany and Gaul, might also be said of the other countries of Europe, and also of Greece and Italy, which supplied the others. If Italy was obliged to restore all those fruits which do not belong originally to its soil, what would remain but acorns? These terms, (*malum Persicum, malum Medicum, Assyrium, Punicum, Cidonium, nux Pontica, &c.*) serve to keep us in remembrance that those fruits came from Asia and from Africa. "It is known," says Mr. Busching (*n*), "that the best and most beautiful fruits passed "from Italy into those countries which produce them at present. "Italy received them from Greece, from Asia, and from Africa: "Apples came to her from Egypt and Greece; apricots from "Epirus; the pear from Alexandria, Numidia, and Greece; "the lemon and orange from Medea, Assyria, and Persia; the fig "from Asia; the pomegranate from Carthage; the chesnut from "Catania in Magnesia, a province of Macedonia; almonds from "Asia to Greece, and thence to Italy; the walnut from Persia;

(*l*) Montesquieu L'Esprit des Loix, lib. xviii. chap. 9.
Philosoph. part i.

(*n*) Busching Geograph. tom. i.

(*m*) Recherch.

“ filberts from Ponto; olives from Cyprus; plums from Armenia; the peach from Persia; quinces from Cidonia in Candia to Greece, and thence to Italy.”

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Pliny says, that men at first fed upon nothing but acorns (*o*). This, though false with respect to men in general, appears to be true with respect to the first peoplers of Italy, at least such was the opinion of the ancients, as their writings shew. Pliny adds, that even in his time, many people, from the want of grain, were esteemed rich in proportion to the quantity of acorns which they had, of the flour of which they made bread, as they do at present in Norway of the bark of the pine, and in other northern countries of bones of fishes; which is no small indication of their misery. Bomare declares that all the beauties of European gardens are foreign (*p*), and that the most beautiful flowers they have come from the East (*q*). M. de Paw makes a more general confession of the ancient misery of the Europeans, where he affirms that the useful plants which they have at present passed from the south of Asia into Egypt, from Egypt to Greece, from Greece into Italy, from Italy into Gaul, and from thence into Germany (*r*); so that the soil of Europe, with respect to native and original productions, is one of the poorest and most barren in the world. On the contrary, how fruitful and abundant the American soil is, and especially that of Mexico, in native plants proper for nourishment and cloathing, and the other necessaries of life, may be learned from reading the European authors who have written of the natural history of that new world.

This is the answer to that ridiculous comparison which Herrera makes in his first Decad mentioned in the beginning of this Dissertation. “ In America,” he says, “ there were not, as in Europe, either lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, quinces, melons, grapes, olives, sugar, rice, or wheat.” The Americans will then say, first, that Europe had none of those fruits until they were transplanted there from Asia and Africa; secondly, that at present these fruits grow in America as well as in Europe, and in general better of their kind and in greater

(*o*) Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. 2. cap. 56.
Nat. V. Plante.

(*q*) Id. V. Fleur.

(*p*) Bomare Diction. Univ. d'Histoire

(*r*) Recherch. Philosoph. part i.

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plenty, particularly oranges, lemons, melons, and sugar canes; thirdly, that if America had not wheat, Europe had not maize, which is not less useful or wholesome; if America had not pomegranates, lemons, &c. it has them now: but Europe never had, has, nor can have, chirimoyas, Ahuacates, musas, chicozapotes, &c.

Finally, M. de Buffon, and M. de Paw, and other European philosophers and historians, who inveigh so much against America for its barrenness, its woods, its marshes, and deserts, will please to remember, that the miserable countries of Lapland, Norway, Iceland, Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, and the vast horrid deserts of Siberia, Tartary, Arabia, Africa, and others are countries of the old continent, and make at least the fourth part of its extent. Yet what countries are those? Let us attend to the eloquent description which Buffon gives of the deserts of Arabia: "a country," he says, "without
" verdure, and without water; a sun always burning, an atmosphere
" always dry, sandy plains, mountains still more parched, over which
" the eye roams in vain to fix upon a single living object; a land, if we
" may say so, pale and excoriated with the winds, which presents no-
" thing to the sight but bones, scattered stones, and rocks in pyramids
" or in ruins, a desert entirely bare, in which the adventurous travel-
" ler never bates under the shade, where there is nothing that can be
" made companionable to him, or preserve his remembrance of living
" nature: a solitude greatly more frightful than that of the woods; for
" the trees are at least animated substances, which afford some con-
" solation to man, but here he finds himself alone, detached, more
" naked and more bewildered, in places that are waste and without
" boundary; all the soil which he views appears to him like his se-
" pulchre; the light of the day, more melancholy than the shades of
" night, does not return but to make him see his nakedness and impo-
" tence, and set before him his horrible situation, lengthening to his
" sight the limits of the void, and enlarging around him the abyss of
" immensity which separate him from the habitable world; a space so
" immeasurable, that in vain he would attempt to pass it; for hunger,
" thirst, and burning heat, shorten the moments which remain to him
" between desperation and death (s).

(s) Buffon Hist. Nat. tom. xxii.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of the Animals of Mexico.

ONE of the arguments most insisted on by Buffon and de Paw, to illustrate the unhappy nature of the American soil, and the malignity of its clime, is the pretended degeneracy of animals, both of those which are native to that land, and those which have been transported there from the ancient continent. In the present Dissertation we shall examine their proofs, and detect some of their errors and contradictions.

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Of the Animals proper to Mexico.

ALL the animals which are found in the new, have passed there from the old world, as we have established in the first Dissertation; and it is confessed also by Mr. Buffon himself, in the twenty-ninth volume of his Natural History; and it ought likewise to be credited, if we rely on the authority of the Sacred Writings in this point. We call those animals proper to Mexico which were found there by the Spaniards; not because they draw their origin from that land, as we are given to understand by M. de Paw in all his work, and by Mr. Buffon in the first twenty-eight volumes of his History; but only to distinguish those animals which, from time immemorial, were bred in those countries, from those others which were afterwards transported there from Europe: we shall therefore call the latter *European*, the former *American*.

The first ground of disparagement to America, with the count de Buffon, is the small number of its quadrupeds, compared with those of the old continent. He reckons two hundred species of quadrupeds hitherto discovered over all the globe, of which one hundred and thirty belong to the old continent, and only seventy to the new world.

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And if we take from this number the species which are common to both continents, we shall hardly find, he says, forty species of quadrupeds properly American. From these premises he infers that in America there has been a great scarcity of matter (*a*).

But why would he take from the seventy species of quadrupeds America has, those thirty which are common to both continents, as they, from their very ancient habitation in those countries, are as much American as the others? Besides, if those animals, which he calls properly American, had been created originally in America, with greater shew of probability he might have affirmed the supposed scarcity of matter in that part of the world. But all beasts having been Asiatic in their origin, as he himself confesses, we do not see his grounds for drawing such a conclusion. "Every animal," says Buffon, "when abandoned to its own instinct, seeks a zone and a region adapted to its nature (*b*)." Hence the cause of the small number of species of quadrupeds in America; because, upon supposition that animals after the deluge, when abandoned to their own instinct, sought a zone and a region suitable to their natures, and found it in the countries of the old continent, they had no occasion to make so long a journey as to America: if the animals, instead of being saved on the mountains of Armenia, had been collected on the American Alps, by the same way of reasoning the number of species of quadrupeds in the old continent would have been less, and the American philosopher would have been liable to censure, who, from such an incident, would have endeavoured to infer the prodigious scarcity of matter, and barren niggard sky of that which we call the old continent.

But although all those quadrupeds were actually original in America, we ought not from thence to infer the supposed scarcity of matter, because a country cannot be said to have a scarcity of matter which has the number of species of its quadrupeds proportioned to its extent. The extent of America is the third part of the whole earth, therefore it cannot be said that there is a scarcity of matter there, when it has a third part of all the species of quadrupeds. The species of quadrupeds, according to Buffon, are two hundred, of which America has

(*a*) Hist. Nat. tom. xxiii.

(*b*) Ibid. tom. xxix.

seventy, which is something more than a third; it cannot therefore be said that there is a scarcity of matter there.

Hitherto we have reasoned on the supposition that what Mr. Buffon has said was true with respect to the number of species of quadrupeds; but who is certain of this, as the real distinguishing character of species has not yet been discovered? Mr. Buffon, as well as several other naturalists who have written after him, believe, that the sole indubitable proof of the specific difference of two animals, similar to each other in many circumstances and properties is, that of the male not being able to cover the female, and of producing by means of generation another individual that is fruitful and similar to themselves. But this proof of diversity of species, besides that it fails in some animals, is, with respect to others, very difficult to be determined. To shew the uncertainty of it, let us put an ass and a mare together, and a mastiff and a greyhound together, two breeds of dogs extremely different. From this last couple is bred a dog, which partakes of mastiff and greyhound; from the first is produced a mule, which partakes also of the ass and the mare. I wish to know why the ass and the mare are two different species of quadrupeds, and the mastiff and the greyhound are only varieties of one species. Because this last couple, says Buffon, generates a fruitful individual, the other not. But how? Mr. Buffon, in the twenty-ninth volume of his History, freely affirms, that the mules not being able to conceive is not because they are absolutely impotent, but only on account of the excessive heat and extraordinary convulsions which they suffer in coition. Mr. Bomare(c), after having cited the testimony of Aristotle, who reports, in his History of Animals, that in his time the mules of Syria springing from horses and asses, produced young mules similar to themselves, adds, "This fact, related by a philosopher so worthy of faith, proves that mules are animals specifically fruitful in themselves, and in their posterity." Similar cases, shewing the fruitfulness of mules, are to be found attested by many authors, ancient as well as modern, worthy of credit; and some cases have happened of this

(c) Diction. d'Histoire Nat. V. Mulet.

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 IV. therefore between those two pair of quadrupeds, except that the births
 of the bitches generated by that couple of dogs are more frequent than
 those of the mules.

Besides, who has informed Mr. Buffon, that the *Gibbon* and *Mago*, the *Mammon* and *Pappion* (four sorts of apes), do not copulate together, and produce a fruitful individual? The author has not made any experiment of it, nor cited any other naturalist who had; and notwithstanding he decides that all the above-mentioned quadrupeds are so many different species. The distinction of the species of quadrupeds adopted by him is therefore very doubtful and uncertain, and we cannot know whether certain quadrupeds, which he reckons different species, are not one single species; and on the contrary, if others which he believes to be one species, may not be specifically different.

But leaving this aside, it would be sufficient to cause a great diffidence of the division which Mr. Buffon has made of quadrupeds, to perceive the contradictions which appear in this and the other parts of his history, though in other respects it is extremely valuable. In the discourse which he gives in the twenty-ninth volume, on the Degeneracy of Animals, he affirms, that if we are to enumerate the quadrupeds proper to the new continent, we shall find fifty different species; and in the enumeration which he makes of the quadrupeds of both continents, he says, that those of America hardly make forty species. In the above enumeration he reckons the tame goat, the shamois goat, and wild goat, three different species; and in vol. xxiv. treating of those animals, he says, that those three quadrupeds, and the other six or seven species of goats which are distinguished by different names, are all of one and the same species. So that we ought to abate the eight or nine species from the one hundred and thirty which he numbers in the old continent. In the above-mentioned enumeration he counts the dog, the mouse, and marmotte; and adds, that no one of

(*d*) Amongst others worthy of mention are the repeated births of a mule got by an ass and a mare, on the farm called *Forest of Zurita*, near to the city of Lagos, the property of D. F. G. Rubalcaba. This mule, conceived by an ass, and brought forth a mule in 1762, and another in 1763.

those quadrupeds was in America; but treating afterwards of the animals common to both continents, he says, that the marmots and mice are common to each continent, although it is difficult to decide if such American quadrupeds are of the same species with those of the old continent; and in vol. vi. he affirms, that mice were carried to America in European vessels. With respect to dogs, which, in the above enumeration, he denies to America, he grants them to it in vol. xxx. for he affirms that the *Xoloitzcuintli*, the *Itzcuintepotzotli*, and *Techichi*, were three different breeds of the same species of dogs with those of the old continent. This sketch is sufficient to shew that Mr. Buffon, notwithstanding his great genius and great diligence, sometimes forgets what he has written.

Amongst the one hundred and thirty species of quadrupeds of the old continent, he enumerates seven species of bats common in France and other counties of Europe, five of which, that were hitherto unknown and confounded with others, were lately discovered and distinguished by Mr. Daubenton, as he affirms in vol. xvi of his History. If then in learned France, where so many centuries have been passed in the study of natural history, five species of bats were hitherto unknown, what wonder is it that in the vast regions of America, where no such able naturalists have gone yet, and where but lately that study has been in esteem, should remain many species of quadrupeds still unknown? We do not doubt that if there had been some Buffons and Daubentons in the new world, they would have been able to have counted a few more quadrupeds than he numbers from Paris, where he cannot be informed respecting American animals, as he is about those which are European. We feel extreme regret that a philosopher so celebrated, so ingenious, so learned, and so eloquent, who has endeavoured to write of all the quadrupeds of the world, distinguishes their species, families, and breeds, describes their character, disposition, and manners, numbers their teeth, and even measures their tails, should at the same time shew himself ignorant of the most common animals of Mexico. What quadruped is more common or more known in Mexico than the *coyote*? All the historians of that kingdom make mention of it, and Hernandez gives an exact and minute description of it in his History; which is most frequently cited by Buffon; yet this author makes not the least

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mention of it under that or any other name (*e*). Who does not know that the rabbit was a quadruped excessively common in the provinces of the Mexican empire, under the name of *Tochtli*? That the figure of it was one of the four characters of the Mexican years, and that the hair of its belly was woven into waistcoats for the use of the nobles in winter? Notwithstanding Mr. Buffon will make the rabbit one of those quadrupeds which were transported from Europe to America; but, among all the European historians of Mexico, we have not found one who thinks so; on the contrary, all suppose, that it has from time immemorial inhabited those countries, and we do not doubt that the Mexicans, as often as they read this singular anecdote, must smile at the count de Buffon.

Hernandez enumerates, in his History of Quadrupeds, four Mexican animals of the class of dogs, mentioned by us in book I. of this History: the first, the *Xoloitzcuintli*, or hairy dog; the second, the *Iztcuinpepozotli*, or hunch-back dog; the third, the *Techichi*, or eatable little dog; and the fourth, the *Tepeitzcuintli*, or little mountain dog. These four very different species of dogs have been reduced by the count de Buffon to one single species. He says, that Hernandez was deceived in what he wrote of the *Xoloitzcuintli*, for no other author makes mention of it, and therefore it ought to be believed that that quadruped was transported there from Europe, since Hernandez himself affirms, that he saw it first in Spain, and that it had no name in Mexico, as *Xoloitzcuintli* is the proper name of the wolf, given by Hernandez to that other quadruped; that all those dogs were known in Mexico by the generic name of *Alco*. Here, in a few words, we have a mass of errors. The name *Alco*, or *Allco*, neither is Mexican, nor ever was used in Mexico, but in South America. That of *Xoloitzcuintli* is not the name of the wolf, nor do we know that it was ever called so by any one at Mexico. The Mexicans call the

(*e*) The animals of the old continent, which most resemble the Cojote, are the *Chacal*, the *Adive*, and the *Isatis*; but it is different from them. The *Chacal* is of the size of a fox, the Cojote is twice as large. The *Chacals* go always in herds of thirty or forty together; the Cojotes, in general, alone. The *Adive* is still smaller and weaker than the *Chacal*. The *Isatis* is peculiar to the frigid zone, and shuns the woods; but the Cojote loves the woods, and inhabits warm and temperate countries.

wolf *Cuclachtli*, and in some places where they do not speak Mexican properly, they call it *Tecuani*, which is a generic name for wild beasts. It is evident besides, from the very text of Hernandez, which we here subjoin (*f*), that neither the *Xoloitzcuintli* was transported from Europe to Mexico, nor was such a name given to it by Hernandez, but that it was the name by which the Mexicans themselves used to call it. Hernandez had seen that quadruped in Spain, because it had been transported there from Mexico, as he mentions himself, where he had also seen in the gardens of Philip II. several Mexican plants. But why has no author made mention of the *Xoloitzcuintli*? because neither before nor since his time has any one undertaken to write a history of Mexican quadrupeds; and the historians of that kingdom have been contented to mention some of the commonest animals. Moreover every wise and impartial person should necessarily give more credit to Hernandez in the Natural History of Mexico, as he employed himself in it so many years by order of king Philip II. and as he observed with his own eyes the animals of Mexico, of which he wrote and informed himself from the speech of the Mexicans themselves, whose language he learned, than to the count de Buffon, who, although more ingenious and more eloquent, had no other lights concerning Mexican animals than those which he procured from the works of Hernandez, or from the relations of some other author, not so deserving of credit as that learned and skilful naturalist.

The count de Buffon would make the *Tepeitzcuintli* of Hernandez, the glutton, a quadruped which is common in the northern countries of both continents; but whoever will compare the description which the count de Buffon makes of the glutton with that which Hernandez gives of the *Tepeitzcuintli*, will immediately discern the most striking difference between those two quadrupeds (*g*). The glutton is, according to the count de Buffon, a native of the cold countries of the North, the *tepeitzcuintli*, of the torrid zone; the glutton is, according to count

(*f*) *Pæter canes notos nostro orbi qui omnes pene ab Hispanis translati ab Indis in his plagis hodie educantur, tua alia offendas genera, quorum primum antequam huc me confurem, vidi in Patria, cæteros vero neque conspexeram neque adhuc eo delatos puto. Primus Xoloitzcuintli vocatus alios corporis vincit magnitudine, &c. Hern. Hist. Quadrup. N. Hisp. cap. 20.*

(*g*) Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. xxvii. Hernandez, Hist. Quadrup. N. Hisp. cap. xxi

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 IV. Hernandez says, *parvi canis magnitudine*. The glutton is so named on
 account of its incredible and dreadful voracity, which even impels it to
 dig up dead carcasses to eat them; Hernandez says nothing of any such
 quality in the tepeitzcuintli, and he certainly would not have omitted what
 constitutes its chief character: on the contrary, he affirms that the te-
 peitzcuintli becomes domestic, and feeds upon the yolks of eggs and
 bread soaked in hot water; but a beast so carnivorous as the glutton
 could never support itself on such diet. In short, to omit other argu-
 ments of their diversity, the skin of the glutton is, as count de Buffon
 says, as valuable as that of the zibelline (*h*); but we do not know that
 the skin of the tepeitzcuintli was ever esteemed or made use of.

The xoloitzcuintli therefore being different from the wolf and the
 tepeitzcuintli from the glutton, and those four American quadrupeds
 of the class of dogs, being very different from each other in size, in
 disposition, and many other remarkable circumstances, notwithstanding
 that they couple together, and can procreate a third individual, which
 is fruitful, we ought to conclude that they are four different species;
 and therefore these three species, which count de Buffon has unjustly
 taken from America, ought to be restored to it.

We should never finish if we were to mention all the mistakes
 of this author respecting American quadrupeds: but merely to shew
 that the number of seventy species ascribed by him to America is not
 just, but different, and even contrary to what he has written in the
 course of his History, we shall subjoin to this dissertation a list of
 American quadrupeds taken from that history, to which we shall add
 the quadrupeds which he confounds with others which are different,
 and those which he has entirely omitted; from which it will appear
 how far he has been from the truth, in saying that in America there has
 been a prodigious scarcity of matter. For in order to determine such a
 scarcity, it is not enough to know that the species are few in number,
 but it would be necessary also to demonstrate that the individuals of
 such species are also few in number; for if the individuals of the seventy

(*h*) Bomare says, that the skin of the glutton is more valued by the people of Kamut-
 chatka than the zibelline; and that in Sweden it is much in demand, and very dear.

species of American quadrupeds are more numerous than those of the one hundred and thirty species of the old continent, although the nature of them were less various, still it would not prove a greater scarcity of matter. It would be necessary, besides, to demonstrate, that the species of reptiles and birds are fewer, and also the individuals less numerous, as both of these serve to shew the abundance or scarcity of matter; but no one is so ignorant of the country of America, as to need to be informed of the incredible variety and surprising number of American birds. We should wish to know why nature, which has been so niggardly of quadrupeds to America, as count de Buffon and M. de Paw report, has been so prodigal of birds?

These authors, not contented with diminishing the species of American Quadrupeds, attempt also to lessen their stature: "All the animals of America," says count de Buffon (*i*), "both those which have been transported by man, such as horses, asses, bulls, sheep, goats, hogs, dogs, &c. and those which passed there by themselves, such as wolves, foxes, deer, and alcos, are considerably smaller in size than they are in Europe:" and this, he adds, is the case *without any exception*. This astonishing effect he ascribes to the niggard sky of America, to the combination of the elements, and other natural causes. "There was not," says M. de Paw, "one large animal under the torrid zone of the old continent. The largest quadruped amongst the natives of that country which exists at present in the new world between the tropics, is the tapir, which is about the size of a calf (*k*)." "The most corpulent beast of the new continent," says count de Buffon, "is the tapir, which is about the size of a small mule; and next to it the cabiai, which is about the size of a middling hog."

We have already demonstrated, in the preceding Dissertation, that although we should grant to those philosophers the supposed smallness of American quadrupeds, nothing could from thence be concluded against the land or climate of America: as according to the principles established by M. de Buffon already quoted by us, the larger kind of animals are peculiar to intemperate climes, and the smaller kind to climes which are mild and temperate; and if the advan-

(i) Hist. Nat. tom xviii.

(k) Recherch. Philosoph. part iii. sect. 2.

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tages of climate are to be deduced from the size of quadrupeds, we would unquestionably say, that the climate of Africa and the south of Asia is much better than that of Europe. But if in America, when it was first discovered by the Europeans, there were no elephants, rhinoceroses, sea-horses, camels, &c. they were, however, once there, if we give credit to de Paw, Sloane, Du Pratz, Lignay, and several other authors, who affirm the ancient existence of these great quadrupeds in America, founded on the discovery of bones, and entire skeletons of immense size, which were dug up in different places of the new world: likewise, if we believe what count de Buffon has written in the eighteenth volume of his History, there was formerly an animal seven times larger than the elephant, called by Mr. Muller the *Mammout* (*l*); but in Europe there never was, nor can there be any quadruped of such a size. There were no horses, asses, or bulls (*m*) in America until they were transported there from Europe; but neither were these in Europe until they were transported there, or brought from Asia. All animals drew their origin from Asia, and thence spread through other countries; the neighbourhood of Europe, and the commerce of the Asiatics with the Europeans, facilitated the passage of these animals into Europe; and with these also were introduced there some customs and inventions useful to life, of which the Americans were deprived, on account of their distance from those countries, and the want of commerce.

When count de Buffon affirmed, that the largest quadruped of the new world was the tapir, and the next the Cabiai, he had entirely lost memory of the morse, sea-calves, bufflers, rein-deer, alcos, bears, and the

(*l*) According to the account given by Muller of this quadruped, it should be one hundred and thirty-three feet in length, and one hundred and five in height. The count de Buffon speaks thus of it in volume xvi. "The monstrous *mammout*, whose enormous bones we have frequently considered, and which we have conceived to be at least six times larger than those of the biggest elephant, exists no more." In volume xxii. he says, that he is assured that those immense bones have belonged to elephants seven or eight times larger than the one whose skeleton he had examined in the royal museum of Paris: but in his new work entitled *Epoches de la Nature*, he again affirms the former existence of that enormous quadruped in America.

(*m*) When we say there were no bulls in America, we allude only to the common species employed in Agriculture; for there were *bifontes*; which the count de Buffon sometimes thinks to be the common species; at other times he is doubtful of it.

others. He himself confesses (*n*) that the sea-calf seen by lord Anson and Rogers in America, and by them called the sea-lion, was incomparably larger than all the sea-calves of the old world. Who would compare the cabiai, which is not larger than a middling hog, with the bufflers and alcos? The bufflers are equal in general to the common bulls of Europe, and often exceed them in size. Let us attend to the description which Bomare makes of one of these quadrupeds transported from Louisiana to France, and measured exactly by that naturalist at Paris, in the year 1769 (*o*). There was an immense multitude of these large quadrupeds in the temperate zone of North America. The alcos of New Mexico are of the size of a horse. There was a gentleman in the city of Zacatecas, who made use of them for his chariot instead of horses, according to the testimony of Betancourt; and sometimes they have been sent as presents to the king of Spain.

The universal position of the count de Buffon, that all the quadrupeds common to both continents are smaller in America *without any exception*, has been proved false by several European authors who have seen these animals; and even by count de Buffon himself, in other places of his History. Dr. Hernandez says of the *meztl*, or American lion, that it is larger than the lion of the same species of the old continent. Of the tyger he affirms the same (*p*). Neither the count de Buffon, nor M. de Paw, have a just idea of this wild animal. We saw one a few hours after it was killed by nine shots: but it was much larger in size than we are made to believe by Mr. Buffon. Those authors, since they do not trust the accounts of Spaniards, ought at least to give credit to Mr. Condamine, the learned and impartial French author, who says that the tygers seen by him in the hot countries of the new world did not appear to him to differ from the African tygers, neither in the beauty of their colours, nor

(*n*) Hist. Nat. tom. xxvii.

(*o*) Diction. d'Hist. Nat. V. Bison. Bomare calls that American animal on account of its great size the colossal quadruped; he says that its length from its snout to the beginning of its tail measured by its flanks was, nine feet and two inches; its height from the summit of its back to its hoof, five feet and four inches; its thickness measured over the hunch of its back ten feet in circumference. He adds that he understood from the owner of that animal, that the females were still larger.

(*p*) Vulgaris est huic orbi tygris, sed nostrate major. Hist. Quad. N. Hisp. cap. x.

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in their size. Of the Mexican wolf Hernandez says, that in figure, colour, and disposition, as well as in size it resembles the European wolf, except that it has a larger head (*q*). The same thing he affirms of the common deer, and Oviedo also of both the common and other deer. The count de Buffon, notwithstanding the universality of the position which he has laid down *without any exception*, concerning the smaller size of American quadrupeds, treating, in volume xxix. of the degeneracy of animals, he says, that deer are among the quadrupeds common to both continents, those alone which are more large and strong in the new than they are in the old world; and speaking, in volume xvii. of the *lodra* of Canada, he confesses that they are larger than those of Europe; and the same thing he says of the American beaver: although he allowed no exception to his principle, he still admits those of the deer, *lodra*, beavers, and sea-calves. If to these we add the tygers, the lions without hair, and the stag, according to the testimony of Hernandez and Oviedo, we shall find at least eight species of quadrupeds common to both continents which are larger of their kind in the new than they are in the old world. To those above mentioned we ought also to add those quadrupeds which are equally large in both continents; as the latter as well as the former demonstrate the falsity of such a general principle. Hernandez affirms, that the Mexican wolf is of the same size with the European. Count de Buffon says, that there is no difference between them, except that the Mexican wolf has a finer skin, and five toes in its fore feet, and four in its hind feet. With respect to bears, there are at present many persons in Europe who have seen the bears of Mexico and those of the Alps. We do not believe that among all of these witnesses there will be found one who has acknowledged that the European bears are the larger of the two. For ourselves at least we can declare, that all those we have seen in Mexico appeared to be larger than those which we have seen in Italy (*r*).

(*q*) Forma, colore, moribus, ac mole corporis Lupo Nostrati similis est *Cuetlachtli*, atque adeo ejus, ut mihi videtur, speciei, sed ampliore capiti. Ibid. cap. xxiii.

(*r*) The count de Buffon distinguishes the species of black from that of brown bears, and affirms that the black bears are not at all ferocious; but the Mexican bears, which are all black, are extremely fierce, as is notorious in Mexico, of which also we can bear testimony.

It is therefore no just assertion that all the animals of the new world are without exception smaller than those of the old. The count de Buffon spoke at random when he affirmed in another place that the animals were all *much* smaller, and that nature had in the new world made use of a different scale of dimensions (*u*). It is easy also to demonstrate the mistake of M. de Paw, when he says that all the quadrupeds of America are a sixth less than their correspondents in the old continent. The Tuza of Mexico is analogous to the European mole, but is larger, according to what count de Buffon says. That Mexican quadruped called by count de Buffon *coqualline*, and by us *tlalmototli*, is analogous to the European squirrel, and yet according to the same author is of twice its size. The cojote, analogous to the chacal, is of twice its size. The llama, or ram of Peru, analogous to the European ram, is beyond comparison larger, &c. But those philosophers are so eager to depreciate and undervalue its animals, that they even find subject for censure in their tails, in their feet, and in their teeth. "Not only," says count de Buffon, "has there been a scarcity of matter in the new continent, but likewise the forms of its animals are imperfect, and appear to have been neglected. The animals of South America, which are those that properly belong to the new continent, are almost all deprived of tusks, horns, and tails; their shape is extravagant, their limbs disproportionate, and ill set; and some of them, like the ant-killers and sloths, are of so miserable a nature, that they have hardly ability to move, and to eat."—"The animals native to the new world," says M. de Paw, "are in general of an ungraceful form; some of them so awkwardly made, that those who first made designs of them could hardly express their characters. It has been observed that the greater part of them want the tail, and have a particular irregularity in their feet. This is remarkable in the tapir, the ant-killer, the llama of Margraf, in the sloth, and the *cabeay*. The ostriches, which in our continent have not more than two toes, united by a membrane, all have four in America, and those separated."

(*u*) Hist. Nat. tom. xxviii.

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Such a mode of reasoning is rather a censure of the conduct of Providence than of the clime of America, and not unlike the sceptical opinions attributed to king Don Alphonso the Wise, respecting the disposition of the heavenly bodies. If the first individuals of those animals came not so from the hand of the Creator, but the clime of America has been the cause of their supposed irregularity, whenever those animals should be transported to Europe, their forms would grow perfect, and their disposition and instinct also; at least after ten or twelve generations those miserable animals which the malignant clime of America has deprived of their tails, their horns, and their tusks, would recover them under a more benignant clime. No, those philosophers would say, because it is not so easy to recover from nature what is lost, as to lose what she has given; so that although those poor animals would not in the old continent recover their tails, their tusks, or their horns, still it must be allowed that the climate of America has been the cause of their losing them. Be it so. At present, however, we shall not treat of irregularities which consist in any deficiency, but of those where there is an excess of matter. We allude at present to the ostriches, which, according to M. de Paw (*x*), have, from a vice of nature, two extraordinary toes in each of their feet; but that we may not quit the quadrupeds, we shall mention the Unau, a species of American sloth, which, amongst other of its irregularities, has got forty-six ribs. "The number of forty-six ribs in an animal of so small a body," says M. de Buffon, "is a kind of error or excess of nature; for no animal even among the largest, or among those which have the longest body in proportion to their thickness, has so many. The elephant has not more than forty, the horse thirty-six, the badger thirty, the dog twenty-six, and man twenty-four." If the first Unau which ever was, had the same number of ribs given it by the Creator which its posterity have at present, the reasoning held by M. de Buffon is a censure of Providence; and when he says that that excessive number of ribs has been an error of nature, he means an error of Providence, who is efficient

(*x*) M. de Paw is deceived with regard to the number of toes of the ostrich of America, for it has no more than three; although in the hinder part of its feet it has a round and callous swelling which serves in place of a talon, and by the vulgar is thought to be a toe.

nature. We are certain such an idea is far from the elevated mind of the count de Buffon; but the spirit of philosophy, which runs through all his works, leads him sometimes into rather exceptionable expressions (*a*). If, on the contrary, those philosophers believe, that the Unau had originally a number of ribs proportioned to the size of its body, and that the malignant clime of America did increase them gradually afterwards, we ought to believe, that if that species of quadruped was transported to the old continent, and was bred under a more favouring sky, it would at last be restored to its primitive perfection. Let the experiment be made: let two or three males of this ungraceful species, and as many females, be transported there, and if, after twenty or more generations, it is found that their number of ribs begins to diminish, then we shall acknowledge that the land of America is the most unhappy, and its climate the most baneful in all the world. If it happens otherwise, we will say, as we shall henceforward say, that the logic of these gentlemen is more contemptible than that quadruped, and that their reasonings are mere paralogisms. In other respects it is truly to be wondered at in a country where there has been such a scarcity of matter, that nature should have made a transgression by an excess of it in the ribs of sloths, and in the toes of ostriches.

But to show that those philosophers, while exerting themselves to fix the character of malignity on the climate of the new world, had totally lost recollection of the miseries of their own continent; let us ask them what is the most miserable animal in America, they will immediately answer, the sloth; because this animal is the most imperfect in its organization, the most incapable of motion, the most unprovided with arms for its defence, and, above all, that it appears to have less sensations than any other quadruped; an animal, truly wretched, condemned by nature to inactivity, listlessness, famine, and melancholy, by which it continually excites the compassion and horror of

(*a*) The count de Buffon, desirous of assigning a reason why man resists the influence of climate better than the animals, says, in vol. xviii, "Man is altogether the work of heaven; the animals in many respects are but productions of the earth." This proposition appears a little too bold; but we meet with many still stronger in his *Epoques de la Nature*.

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other species. But this class of quadrupeds, so famous for their misery, is common to both continents. Count de Buffon will not believe it, because it does not suit his system, and says, that if any sloth is found in Asia, it must have been transported there from America; but whatever he may say, it is certain, from the attestations of Klein, Linnæus, Brisson, the publisher of the Cabinet of Seba, and above them all Vosmaer, a learned and diligent naturalist of Holland (*b*), that the Unau, one of the species of sloths, is an Asiatic animal. The Unau of Bengal, which has been seen, bred, and exactly described by this naturalist, cannot have been transported from America; for no commerce between South America and Asia has ever subsisted. Besides, the Unau of Bengal differs from that of America: the former has five, the latter only two toes to its feet. If the count de Buffon is persuaded that the climate of Asia could increase the number of toes of the American quadruped, we would then say to those quadrupeds that the climate of the old continent would be capable of restoring the tails, horns, and tusks, of which the pernicious climate of America has deprived them. Whoever will read the eloquent description given of the American sloth by the count de Buffon, and compare it with that given by Mr. Vosmaer of the sloth *pentadactylus* of Bengal, will soon perceive that this Asiatic quadruped is as miserable as those of America.

But let us philosophically examine what those authors say respecting the supposed irregularity of those quadrupeds. Real irregularity in animals is some disproportion of their limbs, or singularity in the form, or in the dispositions of some individuals with respect to the generality of their species, not that which is observed in a new species compared with one which is known. It would be extremely absurd to consider the *techichi* an irregular animal, because it does not bark. This is an American quadruped, which, from its resemblance to European dogs, was called dog by the Spaniards: not because it was of the same species: and from thence rose the fable propagated by not a few authors, that in America dogs were mute. Wolves are extreme-

b Description de plusieurs Animaux. A work printed at Amsterdam.

ly similar to dogs, but they do not bark. If the first Spaniards who went to Mexico had not seen wolves in Europe, when they saw those of Mexico they would have reported, that there were large dogs there which could not be tamed; and that they did not bark, but howled. And this would have furnished count de Buffon and M. de Paw with a new argument to prove the degeneracy and irregularity of American animals.

The argument of M. de Paw concerning American ostriches, has no more weight. The *Touyou* is an American bird specifically different from the ostrich; but because it is large, and very similar to that African bird, it has been vulgarly called ostrich (*c*). This is sufficient to make M. de Paw affirm that there is irregularity in those American birds; but if we should allow that the *Touyou* is truly an ostrich, he could not make out his position. He would make us believe the American ostrich irregular, because, instead of having only two toes united by a membrane like the African, it has four separate toes. But an American might say that the African ostrich is rather irregular, because, instead of having four separate toes, it has only two, and those united by means of a membrane. "No," M. de Paw would reply in rage, "it is not so: the irregularity is certainly "in your ostriches, because they do not conform with those of the old "world, which are the original species; nor with the representation "which the most famous naturalists of Europe have left us of such "birds."—"Our world," the American would return, "which you "call new, because three centuries ago it was not discovered by you, "is as ancient as yours, and our animals are contemporary with yours. "They are under no necessity of conforming with your animals; nei- "ther are we to blame that the species of our animals have been un- "known to your naturalists, or confounded by a superficial know- "ledge of them. Therefore either your ostriches are irregular, be- "cause they do not conform with ours; or at least ours ought not "to be called irregular, because they do not conform with yours. "Until you demonstrate to us, by incontestible proofs, that the first "ostriches came from the hand of the Creator with only two toes

(c) In Peru, the ostrich is known by the name of Suri.

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“united by a membrane, you will never persuade us of the irregularity of our Touyou.” This mode of argument, which is without doubt unanswerable, is sufficient to defeat the systems adopted by those philosophers, arising from slight and indigested ideas, and strong prepossessions in favour of the old continent.

Those philosophers are not more happy in their discourses on the tails of quadrupeds, than in their observations on the feet of ostriches. They say directly, and without any regard to truth, that the greater part of the quadrupeds of the new continent are totally destitute of tails; which, like all the other effects observed by them in those unfortunate countries, they ascribe to the misery of the American sky, to the infancy of nature in that part of the world, to the fatality of the climate, and other combinations of the elements. Thus those celebrated philosophers of this enlightened century reason. But there being, according to count de Buffon, seventy species of American quadrupeds, it would be necessary that at least forty of them were without tails, in order to verify what M. de Paw has said, that the majority of them were deprived of this member; and many more would be requisite to prove true, that almost all the quadrupeds were unfurnished with tails, as count de Buffon affirms. However, animals of this description in America, as we shall presently find, are only six in number: therefore the proposition is a monstrous hyperbole, not to say an idle falsehood.

It appears, that, in the time of Pliny, no other animals were known to be without tails, but man and the ape. If since that time there had been no other animal unfurnished with such member discovered in the old continent, count de Buffon and M. de Paw would have been right in taxing the American quadrupeds with it; but from the History of count de Buffon, it is evident the species without tails are more numerous in the old continent than in America. Here follows a list of both, extracted from the History of count de Buffon.

Quadrupeds without tails in the old continent.

1. The *Pongo*, or Orang Outang, or Satyr, or Man of the Woods.
2. The *Pithecus*, or Proper Ape.

3. The *Gibbon*, another species of ape.
4. The *Cynocephalus*, or Magoto.
5. The Turkish dog.
6. The *Tanrec* of Madagascar.
7. The *Loris* of Ceylon.
8. The Indian Pig.
9. The *Roussette* } Two species of great bats of Asia.
10. The *Rougette* }
11. The golden mole of Siberia.

To which the three following should be added :

12. The five-toed sloth of Bengal, described by Vosmaer.
13. The *Klipda*, or bastard marmot, of the Cape of Good Hope, described by Vosmaer.
14. The *Capiverd*, or *Capivard* of the Cape of Good Hope, described by Bomare.

IN AMERICA.

1. The Unau species of sloth.
2. The *Cabeay*, or amphibious hog.
3. The *Aperea* of Brasil.
4. The Indian pig.
5. The *Saino*, *Pecar*, or *Cojamettl*.
6. The *Tapeto*.

Therefore in the old continent there are at least fourteen species of quadrupeds (*d*) unfurnished with tails, and in America only six, of which we might except the two last, as they are uncertain (*e*). In all the thirty volumes of the History of Quadrupeds of count de Buffon,

(*d*) To the fourteen species above mentioned we might add the Unau *Dydactylus* of Ceylon, mentioned by several authors, and the Porte-musc, described by M. d'Aubenton and Bomare; but we omit the first, because we are not certain that it is different from the *Loris* of Buffon: we pass the second also, because it may have some little tail, although the diligent M. d'Aubenton did not find it.

(*e*) The Pecar is described by Oviedo, Hernandez, and Acosta, under the names *Saino* and *Cojamettl*; but they say nothing of its want of a tail. We have been informed by accurate and distinct persons, who have seen many Pecars, that they had a tail, although it was small. With respect to the Tapeto, the count de Buffon believes it to be the *Cilli* of Hernandez. But all Mexicans know that the *Cilli* of Hernandez is the hare of Mexico, and we are certain it has a tail like the common hare of Europe.

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we have found no other American animal without a tail except those above mentioned: and notwithstanding he ventured to affirm that in the new world almost all the animals were deprived of tails; it appears from hence that such universal propositions are as easily offered as they are difficult of proof.

If the climate of America is so pernicious to the tails of animals, how comes it that while four species of apes of the old continent are deprived of such a member, namely, the *Pongo*, the *Pithecus*, the *Gibbon*, and the *Cynocephalus*, all the species of apes of the new world have them, and some, such as the *Saki*, have tails so long that they are twice the length of their bodies? why do squirrels, *Coquallines*, ant-killers, and other such quadrupeds, abound in America, which are furnished with such enormous tails in proportion to their bodies? Why has the marmot of Canada, although it is of the same species with that of the Alps, a larger tail, as count de Buffon himself confesses? Why have the deer of America, although smaller than those of the old continent, a longer tail, as the same author affirms? (*f*) If the climate of America was ever possessed of some principle destructive to tails of animals, those which Columbus transported there from Europe, and the Canary Isles, in 1493, would have by this time lost all tail, particularly hogs, which carried such short tails there, or at least they would have been remarkably shortened after two hundred and eighty-eight years; but among all the Europeans who have seen the sheep, horses, oxen, &c. bred in America, and those which were bred at the same time in Europe, there has not been one writer who could find any difference between the tails of the one and the other.

This same argument is equally valid against what count de Buffon says upon the want of horns and tusks in the greater part of American quadrupeds, as the oxen, the sheep, and goats, preserve without change their horns, the dogs and hogs their teeth, and the cats their nails, as all those who have seen and compared them with those of Europe can testify. If the climate of America were so destructive to the teeth and horns of animals, a number of them would have been lost, at least by the posterity of those quadrupeds of Europe, which were transported

(*f*) Hist. Nat. tom. xviii.

there almost three centuries ago, and much more the generations of wolves, bears, and other similar quadrupeds, which passed there from Asia, perhaps in the first century after the deluge. If, on the contrary, the temperate zone of Europe is more propitious to the teeth of animals than the torrid zone of the new world, why did nature give to the latter, and not to the former, the tapir and crocodile, which in number, size, and sharpness of their teeth, exceed all the quadrupeds and reptiles of Europe?

Lastly, If there are some animals in America without horns, without teeth (*g*), and without tails, it is not owing to the climate or niggard sky of America, or any imaginary combination of the elements, but because the Creator, whose works and whose counsels we should humbly revere, chose it so, that such variety might serve to embellish the universe, and make his wisdom and his power more conspicuous.—What gives beauty to some animals, would render others deformed. It is perfection in a horse to have a large tail, in the stag to have a small one, and in the pongo to have no tail at all.

With respect to what our philosophers say of the ugliness of the animals of America, it is true that among so many there are some whose forms do not correspond with the ideas which we entertain of the beauty of beasts; but who has assured us that our ideas are just, and not imperfect, and occasioned by the narrowness of our minds? And how many animals could we not find in the old continent still worse formed than any beast of America? What quadruped is there in America which can be compared, in the deformity and disproportion of its limbs, with the elephant, called by the count de Buffon a *monster of matter*? (*h*) Its vast mass of flesh, higher than it is long; its

(*g*) Among all the quadrupeds of the new world, the ant-killers alone are destitute of teeth, like the pangolino and tatagino of the East Indies, which quadrupeds are covered with scales instead of hair. All those quadrupeds which feed on nothing but ants have no occasion for teeth; but they are furnished by the Creator with a long tongue, with which they can dexterously lick up the ants and swallow them.

(*h*) “En considerant cet animal,” says Bomare of the elephant, “relativement à l’idée qui nous avons de la justesse des proportions, il semble mal-proportionné, a cause de son corps gros et court, des ses jambes roides et mal-formées, des ses pieds ronds et tortus, de sa tête grosse, des ses petits yeux, et des ses grand oreilles: on pourroit diri aussi que l’habit dont il est couvert est encore plus mal taille et plus mal fait. Sa trompe, ses defenses, ses pieds le rendent aussi extraordinaire que la grandeur de sa taille.”

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disgustful skin, without hair, and furrowed with wrinkles; its enormous trunk instead of a nose; its long teeth, placed without its most hideous mouth, and turned upwards, contrary to what is observed in other animals, in order to increase the deformity of its face; its vast polygonous ears; its thick, crooked, and proportionably small legs; its unformed feet, with toes scarcely distinguished; and lastly, its diminutive eyes, and ridiculously small tail to a body so immense, are all circumstances which render the elephant a most irregular quadruped. We challenge our philosophers to find in the new world an animal more disproportioned, or whose form is more ungraceful. Similar reflections arise from viewing the camel, the *Macaco*, of which count de Buffon says that it is *hideously deformed*, and more so than all other animals of the old continent: we dare not, however, blame the clime to which they belong, nor censure the Supreme Artificer who formed them.

What our philosophers say with respect to the smaller ferocity of American wild beasts, instead of assisting them to prove the malignity of that clime, serves only to demonstrate its mildness and bounty. "In "America," says count de Buffon, "where the air and the land are "more mild than those of Africa, the tiger, the lion, and the panther "are terrible only in name They have degenerated, if fierceness "joined to cruelty made their nature; or, to speak more properly, "they have only suffered the influence of the climate." What more can be desired in favour of the climate of America? Why, therefore, does he ever adduce the smaller ferocity of American animals as an argument of their degeneracy occasioned by the malignity of that clime? If the climate of the old continent should be esteemed better than that of the new world, because under the former the wild beasts are found more terrible, for the same reason the climate of Africa ought to be esteemed incomparably more excellent than that of Europe. This argument, which we have already made use of, might be carried much farther, to the confusion of our philosophers.

But those authors have not a just idea of American animals. It is true that the *Miztli*, or Mexican lion, is not to be compared with the celebrated lions of Africa. The latter species either never did pass into the new world, or was extirpated by man; but the former does

not yield to those of its species, or the lion without hair of the old continent, according to the testimony of Hernandez, who knew both the one and the other. The Mexican tiger, whether it is or is not of the same species with the royal tiger of Africa, as that is of no importance, has surprising strength and ferocity. There is no quadruped, among those of Europe or America, which can be opposed to it. It intrepidly attacks and tears men, deer, horses, bulls, and even the most monstrous crocodiles, as Acosta affirms. This learned author vaunts both its intrepidity and swiftness. G. de Oviedo, who had travelled through many countries of Europe, and was not ignorant of natural history, speaking of those American tigers, says, "They are animals very strong in the legs, well armed with claws, and so terrible, that, in my judgment, none of the greatest royal lions can rival their strength and ferocity." The tiger is the terror of the American woods: it is not possible to tame it or catch it when it is grown up: those which are taken when young, are not to be kept without danger, unless they are shut up in the strongest cages of wood or iron. Such is the character of those animals which are called cowardly by M. de Paw and other authors, who were unable to distinguish the species of quadrupeds with spotted skins.

It is however certain, that those authors show themselves as credulous of every thing they find written concerning the size, strength, and intrepidity of the royal tigers of the old continent, as they are obstinate in denying faith to what eye-witnesses say of American tigers. Count de Buffon believes, upon the attestation of we do not know what author, that the royal tiger is from thirteen to fourteen feet in length, and five in height; that it will engage with three elephants, kill a buffaloe, and drag it wherever it pleases, and other similar absurdities, which can only gain belief from those who are prejudiced in favour of the old continent. If some authors deserving of faith should relate of the American tigers a few of the particulars which are told of Asiatic tigers, they would be considered as idle exaggerating boasters (*i*). The account which Pliny (*k*) gives of the artifices of hunters in robbing the

(*i*) It is sufficient to observe the little credit given by these authors to the testimony of Mr. Candamine, notwithstanding the esteem in which they held that learned mathematician.

(*k*) Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 18.

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tiger of its young, and the coolness of temper with which it carries them off again one by one, and that which Bomare relates (*k*) of the combat in the year 1764, in Windsor Forest, in England, between the stag and a tiger brought from India to the duke of Cumberland, in which the stag came off conqueror, shows us that the ferocity of those Asiatic wild beasts is not so great as count de Buffon and M. de Paw represent it.

The American wolves are not less strong nor bold than those of the old continent, as all who have had any experience of them both know. Even stags, which, as Pliny says, are very tranquil animals, are so daring in Mexico, that they frequently attack the hunters. This fact is testified by Hernandez, and is notorious in that kingdom. We have seen in our own dwelling the vicious nature of a stag, which had become almost domestic, show itself most cruelly upon an American girl.

But let the American quadrupeds be smaller in size, more ungraceful in form, and more pusillanimous in their nature; let us grant to those philosophers that from such a position the happiness of the climate of the old continent is to be deduced; they will not still persuade us that it is a full proof and a certain argument of the malignity of the American climate, while they do not show us in the reptiles and birds of America (*l*) the same degeneracy which they suppose in quadrupeds. M. de Paw says of American crocodiles, whose ferocity is notorious, that it appears from the observations of M. du Pratz, and others, that they have not the fury and impetuosity of those of Africa. But Hernandez, who knew both the one and the other, found no difference between them (*m*). Acosta says that those of America are extremely fierce, but slow; but this slowness is not in a progressive line forwards, in which motion they are

(*k*) Bomare Diction. d'Historie Nat. V. Tigre.

(*l*) The count de Buffon might say, as he observes in vol. xviii., that we ought not to consider the birds with respect to climate in this particular, because, it being easy for them to pass from one climate to another, it would be almost impossible to determine which belonged properly to the one or to the other. But as the cause of the passage of birds is the cold or the heat of the seasons, which they wish to avoid, on this account the American birds have no occasion to leave their continent, because there they have countries of every sort of clime to shelter themselves from every hurtful season, and where they can always find their food. We are altogether certain, that the Mexican birds do not travel to the old continent.

(*m*) Hern. Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 3.

most swift and active, but in turning only, or bending from one side to another, as is the case with the crocodiles of Africa, on account of the inflexibility of their *vertebræ*. Hernandez affirms that the *Acutzpalin* or Mexican crocodile flies from those who attack it, but pursues those who fly from it, although the former case happens more seldom than the latter. Pliny says the same thing of African crocodiles (*n*). In short, if we compare what Pliny says of the latter with what Hernandez says of the former, it will appear that there is not even a difference of size between them (*o*).

With regard to birds, M. de Paw makes mention only of ostriches, and that so negligently as we have shown. He certainly designed to be silent on this subject, discovering that on this side his cause was lost; for whether we consider number or variety of species, intrepidity, or beauty of plumage, and excellence of song, the old continent cannot be compared with America as to birds. Of their surprising multitude we have already spoken. The fields, the woods, the rivers, the lakes, and even inhabited places, are filled with innumerable species. Gemelli, who had made the tour of the world, and seen the best countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, declares that there is not a country in the world which can compare with New Spain in the beauty and variety of its birds (*p*). See what is said by the historians of New France, Louisiana, Brasil, and other countries of the new world, on this subject.

Of the strength and courage of American birds, many European authors worthy of credit make mention. Hernandez, who had so much experience of birds of prey, in the court of Philip II. king of Spain, at the time when hawking was most in vogue, and had observed also those of Mexico, confesses when he talks of the *Quauhtotli*, or Mexican falcon, that all the birds of this class are better and more

(*n*) *Terribilis hæc contra fugaces bellua est, fugax contra insequentes.* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 25.

(*o*) Pliny says that the African crocodile is often more than eighteen cubits, or twenty-seven Roman feet in length. Hernandez affirms that the Mexican crocodile is usually more than seven paces long. If he speaks of Castilian paces, they make almost twenty-eight Roman feet; if he speaks of Roman paces, they will make thirty-five feet, so that the difference is trifling, or if there is any, it is in favour of the American crocodile.

(*p*) *Ella e tanta la vaghezza e la varieta degli uccelli della N. Spagna cho non v'e paese al mondo, the ne abbia pari.* Giro del Mondo, tom. vi. lib. ii. cap. 9.

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courageous in New Spain, than they are in the old continent (*q*). On account of the excellence of the Mexican falcons having been known and acknowledged, Charles the Fifth ordered that every year fifty hawks should be sent to him from New Spain, and as many from the island of Hispaniola, as the historian Herrera attests; and Acosta relates, that the falcons of Mexico and Peru, because they were much esteemed, were sent in presents to the grandees of Spain. Acosta also says, that the condors, or Mexican vultures, are of an immense size, and have so much strength, that they not only tear a ram, but even a calf; and D. A. Ulloa testifies, that a stroke of their wing will knock down a man (*r*). Hernandez says, that the *Itzquauhtli*, or royal eagle of Mexico, attacks men, and even the fiercest quadrupeds. If the climate of America had taken from the quadrupeds their strength and courage, it would without doubt have produced the same effect on birds: but from the testimony of the above-mentioned writers, and other European authors, it is manifest that they are not feeble or pusillanimous, but that they excel those of the old continent in intrepidity and strength.

With respect to the beauty of birds, those authors do not refuse the superiority to America, although in other respects they have so eagerly depreciated the new world. Whoever would form to himself a competent idea of them, may consult Oviedo, Hernandez, Acosta, Ulloa, and other European authors, who have seen the birds of America. In New Spain, says Acosta, there is a great plenty of birds, adorned with such beautiful plumage, that they are not equalled by any in Europe.

It is true, say many European authors, that American birds are superior in beauty of plumage, but not in excellence of song, in which they are exceeded by those of Europe. So think two modern Italians (*s*):

(*q*) *Fateor accipitrum omne genus apud hanc novam Hispaniam, Jucatanicamve provinciam repertum præstantius esse atque animosius vetere in orbe natis.* Hernandez de Avibus N. Hisp. cap. 92.

(*r*) The condor is so large as to measure from fourteen to sixteen feet from tip to tip of the wings when extended. Bomare says it is common to both continents; and that the Swiss call it the *laemmer-geyer*; but notwithstanding this, it is certain that no bird of prey has been found yet on the old continent, equal in size and strength to the condor of America.

(*s*) The author of a certain Dissertation, metaphysical and political, *Sulla Proportzione de' Talenti e del loro Uso*, in which he has written most preposterous particulars respecting Ame-

but however learned they are in certain speculative subjects, they are equally ignorant of the productions of America: it will be sufficient, in order to confute those authors, to subjoin the testimony of Hernandez to this point (*t*); who, after having heard the singing of the best nightingales at the court of Philip II. heard for many years the *centzontli* or polyglots, the cardinals *tigrets*, the *cuillaccochis*, and other innumerable species of vulgar singing birds in Mexico unknown in Europe, besides the nightingales, *calderines* calandras, and others common to both continents. Among the singing birds most esteemed in Europe the nightingale is the most celebrated, but it sings still better in America, according to the affirmation of M. Bomare. The nightingale of Louisiana is, he says, the same with that of Europe; but it is more tame and familiar, and sings the whole year, and has a more varied song. These are three considerable advantages which it possesses over the European bird. But although there were not in America either nightingales, calandras, or any one of those birds which are esteemed in Europe for their song, the centzontli or polyglot alone would be sufficient to excite the envy of any country in the world. We are free to declare to our anti-American philosophers, that what Hernandez says of the excellence of the polyglot over the nightingale is extremely true, and agreeable to the opinion of many Europeans who have been in Mexico, and also of many Mexicans who have been in Europe. Besides the singular sweetness of its song, the prodigious variety of its notes, and its agreeable talent in counterfeiting the different tones of the birds and quadrupeds which it hears (*u*); it is less

rica, and shown himself as ignorant as a child of the land, the climate, the animals, and the inhabitants, of that new world. The other is the author of some beautiful Italian fables, in one of which an American bird holds a discourse with a nightingale.

(*t*) In caveis quibus detinetur, suavissime cantat; nec est avis ulla, animalve cujus vocem non reddat luculentissime et exquisitissime æmuletur. Quid? Philomelam nostram longo superat intervallo, cujus suavissimum concentum tantopere laudant celebrantque, vetusti auctores, et quidquid avicularum apud nostrum orbem cantu auditur suavissimum. Hernandez de Avibus N. Hisp. cap. 30 de centzontlatole sive centzontli.

Linnæus calls the centzontli *orpheus*. Other authors call it *mocqueur*, the mocking-bird, or Bestardo.

(*u*) Mr. Barrington, vice-president of the Royal Society of London, says, in a curious work he has written on the singing of birds, and presented to that learned academy, that he heard a polyglot which counterfeited, in the space of one single minute, the singing of the lark, the chaffinch, the black-bird, the sparrow, and the thrush.

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sly than the nightingale, and more common, as its species is one of the most numerous. If we were disposed to reason in the manner of M. de Paw, we could, in order to demonstrate the benignity of the American climate, add, that some birds which are not valued in Europe for their singing, sing much better in America. The sparrows, says Valdecebro, an European author, which do not sing in Spain, are in New Spain better than *calderines* (x).

What we observe of singing birds, may be applied also to those which imitate the human voice; for in Asia and Africa the species of parrots are neither so many nor so numerous as they are in America.

But as we are discoursing of birds, we will, before we end this subject, make an obvious reflection. There is not an American animal which draws so much reproach upon it from our philosophers as the sloth, on account of its astonishing indolence and inability of motion. But what would they say if there was a bird of this nature? This would certainly be the most irregular animal in the world, for such an inactivity or slowness is more preposterous in a bird than a quadruped. But where is this bird? In the old continent, and has been described by count de Buffon; who says that the *Dronte*, a bird of the East Indies, larger than the swan, is among birds what the sloth is among quadrupeds: it appears, he says, a turtle in the clothing of a bird; and nature, in granting it those useless ornaments, wings and tail, seems to have intended to add embarrassment to its weight, and irregularity of motion to the inactivity of its body, and to make its cumbrous largeness still more afflicting, by putting it in remembrance that it is a bird.

From what we have said we cannot avoid concluding, that the sky of America is not niggardly, nor its climate unfavourable to the generation of animals; that there has been no scarcity of matter, nor has nature made use of a different scale of proportions in that region: that what count de Buffon, and M. de Paw, have said of the smallness, of the irregularity and defects of American quadrupeds, is erroneous, or rather a series of errors: and though it was true, it would be of no assistance

(x) In a work entitled *Gobierno de las Aves*, lib. v. cap. 29. But we have already observed, that the Mexican sparrow, though resembling, is different from the true sparrow.

to prove the malignity of the climate of America. But we shall now inquire whether they have done less wrong to the new world, in what they say of the supposed degeneracy of quadrupeds transported there from Europe.

S E C T. II.

Of the Animals transported from Europe to America.

ALL the animals transported from Europe to America,—such as horses, asses, bulls, sheep, goats, hogs, and dogs,—are, says count de Buffon, *considerably smaller there* than they are in Europe, and that, *without one single exception*. If we seek for the proof of so general, or rather an universal assertion, we shall find no other in all the history of that philosopher, than, that cows, sheep, goats, hogs, and dogs, are smaller in Canada than they are in France. The European or Asiatic animals, says M. de Paw, that were transported to America immediately after its discovery, have degenerated, their corpulence has diminished, and they have lost a portion of their instinct and genius: the cartilages or fibres of their flesh have become more rigid and more gross. Such is the general conclusion of M. de Paw. Let us now attend to the proofs. First, The flesh of oxen in the island of Hispaniola is so fibrous, that it can hardly be eaten. Secondly, The hogs in the island of Cubagua changed in a short time their forms to such a degree, that they could hardly be known again; their nails grew so much that they were half a palm in length. Thirdly, Sheep suffered a great alteration in Barbadoes. Fourthly, Dogs transported from their own countries lose their voice, and cease to bark, in the greater part of the regions of the new continent. Fifthly, The cold of Peru incapacitated camels, carried there from Africa, in their organs of generation. Such are the arguments which these philosophers use to ascertain the degeneracy of animals of the old continent, in the new world; arguments which, if they were true, would not be sufficient to prove so universal a position: because, of what importance is it that the flesh of oxen is so fibrous in the island of Hispaniola, if in all the other parts of America it is good, and

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in many, particularly in all those of Mexico which are situated on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, equal to the best in Europe, and possibly better? What signifies it that sheep have undergone some change in Barbadoes, and other hot countries, if, in the temperate countries of Mexico and South America, they continue the same as they came there from Spain? What does it avail that hogs have become disfigured in Cubagua, a miserable little island, deprived of water and every thing necessary for life, if in other parts of America they have acquired, as M. de Paw says himself, an extraordinary corpulence, and their flesh has become so improved, that the physicians there prescribe it to the sick, in preference to all other meat. If the hogs having grown disfigured in Cubagua, do not prove that the clime of America is not the most suitable to them, why should the sheep having suffered some change in Barbadoes, the flesh of oxen having become more fibrous in Hispaniola, and some quadrupeds having grown less in Canada, serve to prove that the clime of America in general is unfavourable to the generation of animals, to their corpulence and instinct?

If such logic was to be tolerated, we could adduce much stronger arguments against the climate of the old continent, without making use of any other materials than those that are furnished to us by count de Buffon, in his Natural History. Camels have never multiplied, as he says, in Spain, although that clime, of all the climes of Europe, is the least contrary to their nature. Oxen have degenerated in Barbary, and in Iceland they have lost their horns. Sheep, says count de Buffon, have degenerated in our country, from their first existence in it; and in all the hot countries of the old continent they change their wool into hair. Goats have grown small in Guinea, and other countries. In Lapland, dogs have become extremely small and deformed; and those of the temperate climes, when transported into cold climes, cease to bark, and after the first generation are born with straight ears. From the accounts of travellers, it is certain that mastiffs, grey-hounds, and other breeds of dogs of Europe transported to Madagascar, Calcutta, Madeira, and Malabar, degenerate after the second or third generation; and that in excessive hot countries, such as Guinea and Senegal, this degeneration is more rapid; as in the space of three or four years they lose their hair and their voice. Stags in mountainous countries

which are hot and dry, such as those of Corsica and Sardinia, have lost a half of their corpulence (*x*). If to these and other accounts given us by count de Buffon we were to add those of many other authors, what examples should we not have of the degeneracy of animals in the old continent, more numerous and true than those of our philosophers? But that we may expose the exaggeration and falsity which belong to their examples, let us examine one by one the species of Asiatic and European animals transported into the new world which by them are said to have degenerated.

C A M E L S.

AMONG all the quadrupeds transported to America, says M. de Paw (*y*), the camels are unquestionably those which have thriven the least. In the beginning of the sixteenth century some of them were transported from Africa to Peru, where the cold disabled the organs necessary for their production, and they left no posterity. Setting aside the chronological error into which he falls, as being immaterial to our purpose (*z*), if it was cold that destroyed the species of camels in America, the same thing would have happened in the European northern countries, where the cold is beyond comparison greater than in any country whatever of Peru. If cold was the cause of their extirpation, let M. de Paw blame those who settled those quadrupeds in places unsuitable to their nature, and not America, where there are lands that are hot and dry, and proper for the subsistence of camels. The same experiment which was made in Peru with camels, was also made in Spain, and with the same want of success; but still there are no persons who will doubt that the clime of the latter is one of the most mild and temperate in Europe. Count de Buffon says, that, if proper precautions were taken, those animals would succeed not only in America, but in Spain: and there is no doubt that they would prosper very well in New Galicia. Besides, it is false

(*x*) Hist. Nat. tom. xviii.

(*y*) Recherch. Philosoph. part i.

(*z*) Camels were not transported to Peru in the beginning of the sixteenth century, because that country was not then discovered; but towards the middle of that century, as Herrera shows in his Decades.

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that the camels which were transported to Peru did not leave any posterity; for Acosta, who went there some years after, found that they had multiplied, though but a little (z).

OXEN.

THIS is one of those species of animals which our philosophers imagine to have degenerated in America; which effect they attribute to the clime. But if possibly in Canada the oxen have lost part of their corpulence, as count de Buffon affirms, and if their flesh has become fibrous in Hispaniola, as M. de Paw would insinuate, this at least is not the case in the greater part of the countries of the new world, in which the multitude and size of those animals, and the goodness of their flesh, demonstrate how favourable the climate is to their propagation. Their prodigious multiplication in those countries is attested by many authors both ancient and modern. Acosta relates (z), that in the fleet in which he returned from New to Old Spain, in 1587, about sixty years after the first bulls and cows had been transported to Mexico, they carried with them from that country sixty-four thousand three hundred sixty ox hides; and from Hispaniola alone, which M. Paw believes to be so unfavourable to the propagation of those quadrupeds, thirty-five thousand four hundred and forty-four ox hides. We do not doubt, that if the number of bulls and cows carried from the old continent to the new, was compared with the number of hides returned by America to Europe, there would be found more than five millions of hides for every one of those animals. Valdeobro, a Dominican Spaniard, who lived some years in Mexico, towards the middle of the last century, relates, as a fact which was notorious, that the cows belonging to D. G. Ordugna, a private gentleman, yielded him in one year thirty-six thousand calves (a), which produce could not arise from a herd of less than two hundred thousand bulls and cows taken together. At present there are many private persons who are owners of herds of fifty thousand head of cattle. But nothing can show the astonishing multiplication of those quadrupeds so well as the cheapness of them in those countries in which they are necessary for the

(z) *Histor. Nat. y Mor. lib. iv. cap. 33.*

(a) In his work entitled *Gobierno de Animales*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

subsistence of man, and the labours of the field, and where, on account of the abundance of silver, every thing is sold dear (*c*). In short, oxen have multiplied in Mexico, in Paraguay, and other countries of the new world, more than in *more ancient Italy* (*d*).

With respect to the size of American oxen it is easy to gain perfect information, as ships loaded with their skins frequently arrive at Lisbon and at Cadiz (*e*). Let M. de Paw, therefore, or any person who maintains the degeneracy of European animals in the new world, measure fifty or one hundred of those hides, and if they are found smaller than those of the common oxen in Europe, we shall immediately confess, that the climate of America has shortened their bodies, and there is a scarcity of matter there; on the contrary, they ought to confess that their information and intelligence is false, their observations ill founded, and their system visionary and chimerical: but that they may understand why we ought not to trust to their knowledge, G. Oviedo, who was one of the first peoplers of the island of Hispaniola, and sojourned there some years, discoursing of the oxen of that island, the flesh of which, M. de Paw says cannot be eaten because it is so fibrous, says that “the herds there are more numerous, and more beautiful, than any in Spain; and as the air in those regions is mild and never cold, the oxen never become meagre, nor is their flesh ever of a bad taste.” Count de Buffon affirms that cold countries are more favourable than

(*c*) In the country round Mexico, the capital of New Spain, although it is well peopled, a pair of oxen for the plough are sold for ten sequins, and bulls by wholesale at forty-five paolis each. In the country round Guadalaxara, the capital of New Galicia, a pair of good oxen are worth from six to seven sequins, a cow twenty-five paoli. In many other countries of that kingdom, those animals are sold for less. In many places of the provinces on the river of Plata a cow is to be had for five paoli. According to an account we have obtained from a person of credit, well acquainted with the provinces on the above river, the oxen which are in herds amount to about five millions in number, and it is computed there are about two millions running wild in the woods.

(*d*) Timeus, a Greek author, and Varro, both cited by Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 1.) have said that Italy was so called from the abundance of oxen in it, which in the ancient Greek language were called *ιταλοι*: whence Gellius affirms that *italia* signifies *armentosissima*.

(*e*) Every person knows that no country has more commerce with Spain in ox-hides than Paraguay, from whence vessels are sent entirely loaded with them. We have been informed by persons of credit who were experienced in that country, that the skins that were carried from thence to Spain, are at least three *varas* (a Spanish measure) long, and many are four, or more than ten Parisian feet. There are not, we conceive, three countries in Europe where oxen grow to such a size.

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hot to oxen; but this is not the case in New Spain: as although the oxen of cold and temperate countries may be excellent, yet the oxen of warm countries are better. The flesh of these animals in maritime lands is so admired, that it is sent to the capital by way of present from places at two and three hundred miles' distance.

S H E E P.

COUNT de Buffon confesses (*e*) that sheep have not succeeded so well in the hot as in the cold countries of the new continent; but he adds, that although they have multiplied considerably, they are, notwithstanding, more meagre, and their flesh is less juicy, and less tender than it is in Europe, from which it appears that he has not been well informed. In the hot countries of the new world sheep in general do not thrive, and the flesh of wethers is not good; at this, however, we need not wonder, as the hot climes in the old continent are so pernicious to sheep, that, as count de Buffon himself says, they become clothed with hair instead of wool. In the cold and temperate countries of New Spain they have multiplied superiorly to bulls, their wool in many places is as fine as the wool of the sheep in Spain, and their flesh as well tasted as any in Europe; which all those who have visited those countries can testify. The multiplication of sheep in America has been surprising. Acosta relates (*f*) that before he went to America, there were in that country individuals possessing seventy, and sometimes one hundred thousand sheep; and at present there are persons in New Spain who own four and five and even seven hundred thousand sheep (*g*). Valdebro says (*h*) that D. Diego Munoz Camargo, a Tascalan noble, of whom we have made mention in our account of the writers of the ancient History of Mexico, obtained from ten sheep an increase of forty thousand in the space

(*e*) Hist. Nat. tom. xxvii.

(*f*) Stor. Nat. y Mor. lib. iv. 33.

(*g*) The Europeans who have not been in America are extremely apt to be incredulous with regard to what we say of the number of oxen, horses, sheep, and goats, which many American farmers have upon their estates; but having been long in that country, we assert no more than we know to be truth.

(*h*) In his work of *Gobierno de Animales*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

of ten years. How therefore could the climate be pernicious to their propagation, if they multiplied so excessively? With respect to size, we declare sincerely, we have seen no rams in Europe larger than those of Mexico.

GOATS.

THE count de Buffon, although so much disposed to revile the animals of America, confesses, notwithstanding, that the goats have prospered well in the climes of America, and that their multiplication is greater there than in Europe (*h*); for whereas in Europe they bring but a single kid, or two at most, at a birth, in America they bring three, four, and sometimes five. M. de Paw, who very justly gives to the count de Buffon the title of the Pliny of France, and refers to his authority on the subject of animals, as to one who has made a review of all the animals of the earth, ought to have considered and weighed these and other confessions of that learned philosopher, before he undertook to write or speculate concerning the animals or the productions of America.

HOGS.

OUR philosophers are not agreed upon this subject; for whereas the count de Buffon places hogs among the animals which have degenerated in America, M. de Paw on the contrary affirms, that these are the only animals which have acquired in the new world an extraordinary corpulence, and whose flesh has been improved. This contradiction arose without doubt from the not distinguishing as they ought to have done the different countries of America. It may be, there are some places unknown to us where the hogs have lost something of their size: but it is certain that in New Spain, the Antilles, Terra-firma, and other places of America, they are as large as those of Europe; and in the island of Cuba there is a breed of hogs twice as large as those of Europe; which all who have been in those countries must have witnessed. Our philosophers may, if they please, have information from many European authors, who have seen the hogs of Toluca, of Angelopoli

(*h*) Hist. Nat. tom. xviii.

DISSERT. in New Spain, of Carthagena, of Cuba, &c. respecting their excessive
IV. multiplication, and the excellence of their flesh (*i*).

OF HORSES AND MULES.

OF all the reflections thrown out by the count de Buffon and M. de Paw against the animals of the new continent, there is no instance where they have done stronger injustice to America, and to truth, than in the supposed degeneracy of horses there. Of them Acosta says (*k*), "that in many countries of America, or in the greater part, they have prospered and prosper well, and some breeds are as good as the best of Spain, not only for the course and for parade, but also for journeys and labour." A testimony of this kind from a European so critical, so impartial, and so well versed in the things of America and Europe, is of more weight than all the declamations of these philosophers against the new world. The lieutenant-general D. Antonio Ulloa, a learned Spanish mathematician still living (*l*), speaks with astonishment of the American horses which he saw in Chili and Peru; and celebrates those of Chili for their pace, those which are called *aguilillas* for their extraordinary velocity, and those called *parameros* for their wonderful agility in running in chace of the stag with riders upon them, down the sides, and up the steepest rocky parts of the mountains. He relates, that on one of those horses called *aguilillas* which, he adds, was none of the fleetest of his kind, he has frequently gone upwards of fifteen miles in fifty-seven or fifty-eight minutes. In New Spain there is an incredible plenty both of horses and mules. The multitude of them may be conjectured from their price; at the time of the conquest an ordinary horse was worth a thousand crowns, at present a good one may be purchased for ten or

(*i*) It will suffice to read what Acosta has written in lib. iv. cap. 38. of his History. "It is certain," says he, "that hogs have multiplied abundantly through all America. Their flesh is eat fresh in many places, and esteemed very wholesome, and as much so as that of the sheep; namely in Carthagena. . . In some places they are fattened with corn, and become extremely fat. In others they make excellent lard and bacon of them, namely in Toluca of New Spain, and in Paria." The count de Buffon, in the same volume, xviii. in which he classes the hog among the animals which have degenerated in America, says positively that the hogs transported to America have thriven there well.

(*k*) Hist. Nat. y Mor. lib. iv. cap. 33.

(*l*) Voyage to South America, part i. lib. vi. cap. 9.

twelve (*m*). Their size is the same as that of the common horses of Europe. In Mexico there is seldom a horse to be seen so small as the breed of Scлавonia which we see in Italy, and still seldomer so small as those of Iceland and other countries in the North, as Anderson, or those of India as Tavernier and other authors relate. Their hardiness is such, that it is a frequent custom with the inhabitants of those countries to make journeys of seventy, eighty, or more miles at a good pace the whole way, without stopping or changing their horses, however fatiguing the road. Saddle-horses, although they are geldings for the most part, have a prodigious spirit. Mules, which through the whole of that country serve for carriages, and for burthens, are equal in size to those of Europe. Those for burthens which are conducted by drivers, carry a load of about five hundred pounds weight. They do not travel more than twelve or fourteen miles a-day, according to the custom of that country; but in this manner they make journeys of eight hundred, a thousand, and fifteen hundred miles. Carriage mules go at the rate of the posts of Europe, although they draw a great deal more weight on account of the baggage of passengers. Saddle-mules are made use of for very long journeys. It is common to make a journey on a mule from Mexico to Guatemala, which is about a thousand miles' distance, over a tract of country that is mountainous and rough, at the rate of three or four stages a-day. The above facts, which we have inserted to show the mistakes of our philosophers, are public and notorious in that kingdom, and agreeable to the report of several European authors. But nothing in our judgment can be a stronger indication of the plenty and excellence of American horses, than the following observation which we have had occasion to make. Among the various things which are ordered from Spain, at great expence, by the Spaniards established in America, from the attachment they preserve to their native country, we do not know (at least with regard to Mexico), that for these two hundred years past,

(*m*) In New Galicia a middling horse is to be had for two sequins, a mule for three, or two and a half, and a herd of twenty-four mares with a stallion for twenty-five sequins. In Chili, for half a sequin or a crown, may be purchased one of those horses that trot, which are much admired for their hardiness and activity in running; and a mare may be bought for an equally small consideration.

DISSERT. they have imported any horses; and, on the contrary, we are certain
IV. that American horses have frequently been sent to Spain as presents to the grandees of the court, and sometimes to the catholic king himself.

D O G S.

AMONG the absurd opinions entertained by M. de Paw, which are not a few, his ideas respecting dogs are not the least extraordinary: “Dogs, he says (*n*), “when transported from our countries, immediately lose their voice, and cease to bark in the greater part of the “regions of the new continent.” The Americans meet a number of things to make them smile in the work of M. de Paw, but in reading this passage it may provoke their loud laughter. Although we should grant to M. de Paw that dogs have degenerated in many places, nothing could from thence be inferred against the new, which could not be equally well applied to the old world: for, according as M. de Buffon affirms, dogs when transported from the temperate into the cold elimes of the old continent lose their voice; and when transported into extremely hot elimes, they lose not only their voice, but also their hair. This assertion of the count de Buffon, is supported by the experiment made on European dogs transported into Asia and Africa, whose degeneracy, he says, is so quick in Guinea and other very hot countries, that after three or four years they remain entirely mute and bald. M. de Paw does not dare to say so much of the dogs transported to America; but even that which he affirms is most false. In what countries of America have dogs lost their voice? On the faith of what author has he dared to publish such a fable? The greater part of the countries of America to which European dogs have been transported, are subjected to the king of Spain, and in none of them has such an accident happened to dogs. Neither among the European authors, who have observed and noted the peculiarities of America, nor among the many Americans lately arrived from the countries of Spanish America, have we found one to confirm this anecdote from M. de Paw. That, however, which we know both

(*n*) Recherch. Philosoph. part i.

from several writers of America, and many persons acquainted with those countries, is, that dogs never run mad either in Peru, Quito, or in other countries of the new world. M. de Paw perhaps read, that in some countries of America there were dogs which did not bark, and this was enough for him to publish that European dogs, when transported to America, soon lost their voice. In like manner it might be said that figs, when transplanted from Europe to America, become immediately thorny, because the *nochtli* or *tuna* has thorns, and from some resemblance to the fig was called by the Spaniards Indian fig, in the same way as they called the *techichi* the little dog of Mexico, because it resembled a little dog; but neither is this quadruped a real dog, nor that fruit a true fig. It is easy to be betrayed into such errors when the ideas of men wander in speculation, and the passions help their going astray. The count de Buffon, on the contrary, affirms (*o*) that European dogs have prospered in the hot as well as the cold countries of the new world: in which affirmation he grants certainly a great superiority to the clime of America over that of the old world.

C A T S.

OUR philosophers say nothing in particular concerning the degeneracy of cats in America: but they ought to be comprehended in their universal assertion. Nevertheless count de Buffon, who in the passage above quoted, does not admit any exception in that which he says of the degeneracy of animals in America, treating afterwards of cats in particular, after boasting those of Spain as the best of all, he affirms that these Spanish cats transported to America have preserved their fine colours, and have not in the least degenerated (*p*).

These are the quadrupeds (*q*) transported from the old to the new continent, all of which, except camels, have multiplied excessive-

(*o*) Histoire Nat. tom. x.

(*p*) Id. tom. xi.

(*q*) The count de Buffon adds to the above-mentioned quadrupeds transported to America the Guinea pig and the rabbit; but affirms that those two species have prospered. With respect to mice, it would certainly be a great distress to America if they could not live in that climate.

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ly, and have preserved without alteration their corpulence, their figure, and the perfection of their originals; which is confirmed partly by the confession of these philosophers themselves, partly by the depositions of European authors who are impartial, judicious, and well experienced in those countries; and partly by the notoriety also of what we have alleged, and which, we trust, cannot be confuted. We do not doubt that candid readers will be sensible, from what we have set forth of the mistakes and contradictions of these philosophers, occasioned by their ridiculous attempt to discredit the new world, the fallacy of their observations, the insufficiency of their arguments, and the rashness of their censure.

CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN QUADRUPEDS.

S E C T. I.

Species acknowledged and admitted by the Count de Buffon.

(The Number added to each Species, refers to the Volume in which the author speaks of it.)

- ACOUTI, a small quadruped of Paraguay and Brazil, similar to the rabbit. The true name in the Paraguese tongue is *Acuti*, 17.
 AI, a species of sloth furnished with a tail, 26.
 AKOUCHI, a small quadruped of Guiana, 30.
 ALCE, vulgarly called *Great-beast* (a), by the French *Elan*, by the Canadians *Orignac*, 24.
 ALCO, amongst the Peruvians *Alleo*, among the Mexicans *Techichi*, a mute eatable quadruped similar to a little dog.
 APAR, species of *Tatu* or *Armadillo*, furnished with three moveable bands, 21.
 APEREA, a quadruped resembling the rabbit, but without a tail, 30.
 BUFFLER, or hunch-backed bull, called in Mexico *Cibolo*, a large quadruped of North America, 23.

(a) In America they call the Tapir or Danta the *Great-beast*.

CABASSOU, a species of Tatu, covered with two plates or shells, and twelve moveable bands, 21.

CABCAI, or *capibara* (*b*), an amphibious quadruped similar to the hog, 25.

CACHICAMO, a species of Tatu, covered with two plates, and nine moveable bands, 21.

CHAMOIS, 24.

CHEVRUEIL, 29.

BEAVER, 17.

STAG, 11.

CHINCHE, a species of American polecat (*c*), 27.

COAITA, a species of *cercopithecus*, or ape furnished with a tail, 30.

COASO, a species of polecat.

COATI, or rather *Cuati*, a small and curious quadruped of the southern countries of America, 17.

COENDU', or rather *Cuandu*, the porcupine of Guiana or Paraguay, called in Oronoko *Arura*, 25.

COJOPOLLIN (not Cayopollin, as count de Buffon writes it), a small quadruped of Mexico, 21.

CONEPATA, in Mexican *conepatl*, the smallest species of polecat, 27.

COQUALLINO (these count de Buffon calls the *Cozocotecuillin* of Mexico), a quadruped similar to the squirrel, but different, 26.

COUGUAR, or *Cuguar*, a spotted wild beast of the tiger kind, 19.

FALLOW-DEER, 12, 29.

ENCOBERTADO, Tatu covered with two plates or shells and six bands, 21.

EXQUIMA, a species of *cercopithecus*, 30.

FALANGER, the name given to a small quadruped, similar to the mouse, 26.

(*b*) The Cabiai of Buffon is called *Capibara* or *Capiguara* by the Tucumanese nation, *Capiba* or *Capibara* by the Paragnese, *Cappiva* by the Tamanachese, by the Chiquitans *Oquis*, and by other nations *Chiac*, *Ciguiri*, *Irabubi*.

(*c*) *Chinche* is the Spanish for bug; from whence it seems the name of this insect was given likewise to the polecat, on account of the intolerable smell it emits behind; but we do not doubt that count de Buffon has rather altered the name *Chinghe*, by which the polecat is known in Chili; for we do not find the name *Chinche* used to signify that quadruped in any country of America.

- DISSERT. IV. FER DE LANCE, a species of bat, so called by Buffon on account of a membrane which it has similar to the iron of a lance, 27.
- FILANDRO of Surinam, a quadruped similar to thé Marosa and *Tlacuatzin*, but different, 30.
- ANT-KILLER (*e*), a quadruped of the hot countries of America, 20.
- GLUTTON, called by the Canadians *Carcaju*, a wild beast of northern countries, 27.
- JAGUAR (*f*), or American tiger, 19.
- JAGUARETE (*g*), or rather *Jaguaretè*, a wild beast of the tiger kind, 18.
- ISATIS, a wild beast of cold countries, 27.
- LAMENTIN, so the French call the *Manati*, a large animal of the sea, of lakes, and rivers, classed by Buffon among quadrupeds, although it can hardly be called *bipes*, or rather *bimanus*, 27.
- SEA-LION, so Lord Anson called the greater sea-calf, which in Chili has the name of *Lame*, 27.
- COMMON HARE, 13.
- LYNX, 19.
- LLAMA, not *lama*, as Buffon writes it, nor *glama*, as M. de Paw writes, the Peruvian ram, 26.
- LONTRA, called by the Peruvians *Miquilo*, 14.
- COMMON WOLF, called by the Mexicans *Cuetlachtli*, 14, 19.
- SEA-WOLF, or smaller sea-calf, 27.
- BLACK-WOLF, different from the common wolf, 19.
- MAPACH, a curious quadruped of Mexico, 17.
- MARGAI, or Tiger-cat. This name may have been taken from the *Mbarucaja* of the Paraguese, 27.
- MARIKINA, or lion-ape, a species of *cercopithecus*, 30.
- MARMOSA, a small and curious quadruped of hot and temperate countries of America, 21.

(*e*) The Ant-killer is called by the Spaniards *oso ormiguero*, or ant-bear, although it is as unlike to a bear as a dog is to a cat. Buffon distinguishes the species of them in America. The first is called by him simply *Fourmillier*, the second *Tammanoir*, and the third *Taman-dua*. The Peruvians call them *Hucumari*.

(*f*) *Jagua* in the Guarani language is the common name for tigers and dogs. The Peruvians call the tigers *Uuruncu*, and the Mexicans *Ocelottl*.

(*g*) The generic name for tigers in the Guarani language is *Jaquar-ete*.

- MARMOT, called by the Canadians *Muar*, 26.
- MICO, the smallest species of the *cercopithec*i (*h*), 30.
- MORSE, a large amphibious animal of the sea, 27.
- OCELOTL, or leopard-cat of Mexico (*i*), 27.
- ONDATRA (*rat musque du Canada*), a quadruped similar to the mouse, 20.
- BROWN-BEAR, 17.
- BLACK-BEAR, specifically different from the brown, 17.
- PACA, a quadruped similar to the pig in hair and grunting, but in head like a rabbit. In Brazil *Paca*, in Paraguay *Pag*, Quito *Picuru*, and Oronoko *Accuri*, 21.
- PACO, a quadruped of South America of the same kind, not however of the same species, with the Llama. The Indian name is *Allpaca*, 26.
- PECARI, a quadruped which has upon its back a humorous gland which stinks, by many supposed to be its navel. The true names of it in different countries of America, are those of *saino*, *cojametl*, *tatabro*, and *pachira* (*l*) 20.
- PEKAN, or American marten, 27.
- PETIT-GRIS, a quadruped of cold countries similar to the squirrel, so called by Buffon, 20.
- PILORI (*rat musque des Antilles*), a small quadruped similar to the mouse, and different from the Ondatra, 20.
- PINCHIS (with Buffon, *Pinche*), a species of small *cercopithec*us, 30.
- POLATUCA, a quadruped partly like a squirrel, called by the Mexicans *Quimichpatlan*, or flying-rat, 20.
- INDIAN-PIG (in French *porc de Inde*), a small quadruped of South America resembling the pig and rabbit, without a tail, 16.
- PUMA, or American lion, called by the Mexicans *Miztli*, and in Chili *Pagi*, 18.

(*h*) *Mico* in Spanish is the generic name of the *cercopithec*i, but Buffon only applies it to the smallest species.

(*i*) *Ocelotl* in Mexican is the name of the tiger; but Buffon applies it to the leopard-cat.

(*l*) It is not improbable that the *Pecari* has been so called by Buffon from *pachira*, which is the name given to this quadruped in Oronoko. Buffon calls it also *Tayassou*, but *Tajazu*, as it should be written, in the Guarani tongue is the common name for all the species of hogs.

- DISSERT. IV. QUIRQUINCHO, a species of Tatu covered with a shell and eighteen bands (*m*).
- REIN-DEER, in Canada *Caribu*, 24.
- SAI (*n*), a species of *cercopithecus*, 30.
- SAIMIRI, or rather *Caimiri*, a curious species of *cercopithecus*, 30.
- SAKI, a species of *cercopithecus* with a long tail, 30.
- SARICOVIENNE, particular Lontra of Paraguay, Brazil, Guiana, and Oronoko. In Paraguay it is called *Kija*, and in Oronoko *Cairo*, and *Nexi*, 27.
- SAYU (perhaps *Caju*), a species of *cercopithecus*, 30.
- WATER-RAT, 30.
- SURICATE, quadruped of South America, which, like the Hyena, has four toes to every foot, 26.
- SVIZZERO, called by the Mexicans *Tlalmototli*, a quadruped in form like the squirrel, but different in its mode of life, and almost twice as large, 20.
- TAIRA, or weasel of Guiana.
- TAMANDUA, or rather *Tamandua*, the middling species among the Ant-killers, 26.
- TAMANNOIR, the largest species of the Ant-killers, 26.
- TAPET, or Tapeto, a quadruped of South America, resembling both the hare and rabbit. The true name in the Guarani language is *Tapiiti*, 30.
- TAPIR (*o*), a large quadruped of America, called by the Spaniards *Anta*, *Danta*, and *Granbestia*, and in other American languages, *Tapii*, *Tapiira*, *Beori*, *Tlacaxolotl*, &c. 23.
- TARSIERE, a quadruped something like the Marmosa and *Tlacuatzin*. 29.

(*m*) *Quirquincho* amongst the Peruvians, *Ajotochli* amongst the Mexicans, *Tatu* amongst the Paraguese, and *Armadillo* among the Spaniards, are all generic names of these species of quadrupeds. Buffon confines the name *Quirchincho*, not *Cirquincon* as he writes it, to one single species; as also that of *Ajotochli*.

(*n*) *Cai*, not *Sai* as Buffon writes it, is in the Guarani tongue the generic name of all the *Cercopithecus*; but he confines it also to one species.

(*o*) We willingly adopt the name *Tapir*, because it is already in use among modern zoologists, and is not otherwise equivocal. That of *Great-beast* is proper to the Alce; that of *Anta* or *Danta* is likewise given to the Zebu, a quadruped of Africa very different from the Tapir.

- TATUETO, a name given by count de Buffon to that species of Tatu which is covered with two shells and eight bands, 21.
- TLACUATZIN, a curious quadruped, the female of which carries its young, after having brought them forth, in a bag or membrane which it has under its belly. In different countries of America it has the following names, *Chucha*, *Churcha*, *Mucamuca*, *Jariquè*, *Fara*, and *Auarè*. The Spaniards of Mexico call it *Tlacuache*. Some naturalists have given it the improper name of *Filandro*, and others, the extremely proper one of *Diaelfus*. Count de Buffon calls it *Larigue* and *Carigue*, changing the name *Jarique*, by which it is known in Brasil, 21.
- TOPORAGNO (in the Spanish musarana), 30.
- TUZA, not *Tucan*, as count de Buffon writes (*p*); in Mexican, *Tozan*; a quadruped of Mexico, of the mole kind, but larger and more beautiful, 30.
- VAMPIRO, great bat of America.
- UARINA, with Buffon, *Ouarine* (*q*); great-bearded *cercopithecus*, called in Quito *Omeco*, 30.
- VISION, or American polecat, 27.
- UISTITI, species of small *cercopithecus*, 30.
- UNAU, a species of sloth without a tail (*r*), 26.
- COMMON FOX, 14.
- URSON, quadruped of cold countries, similiar to but different from the beaver, 25.
- ZORRILLO, or Zorriglio, a species of polecat (*s*), 27.

(*p*) We know not if the Tuza is the same species of quadruped which the Peruvians call *Tupu tupu*.

(*q*) The count de Buffon doubts whether the *Aluata*, which is a *cercopithecus* of a large size, is of the same species with the Uarina; but we assure him it is certainly of the same species, and therefore we have not put down the *Aluata* (which he writes *Alouate*) in this catalogue.

(*r*) The count de Buffon justly distinguishes two species of the sloth, the one furnished with a tail, the other not; because besides this they bear other different characters. In Quito they call the sloths *Quillac* or *Quiglac*, and in Oronoko *Proto*. The Spaniards call them *Pereza*, which means slothfulness, and *Perico ligero*, or swift dog, by way of antiphrasis.

(*s*) *Zorrillo*, or little fox, is the generic name which the Spaniards give to Polecats. The Mexicans call them *Epatl*. In Chili *Chinghe*, and in other countries of South America *Mapurito*, *Agnatuja*, &c.

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From this catalogue we see that the count de Buffon, who could not find more than seventy species of quadrupeds in all America, in the progress of his Natural History acknowledges and distinguishes at least ninety-four; we say at least, as besides those above mentioned we ought to mention the common hog, the ermine, and others, which, denied by Buffon to America in some places of his history, are granted to it in others.

SECT. II.

Species which Count de Buffon has confounded with others that are different.

The *Guanaco* with the *Llama* or *Gliama* (*t*).

The *Vicugna* with the *Paco*.

The *Citli* with the *Tapete* or *Tapiiti* (*u*).

The *Huiztlacuatzin*, or Mexican porcupine, with the *Cuandú* or porcupine of Guiana (*x*).

The *Tlacocelotl* with the *Ocelotl* (*y*).

The *Tepeitzcuintli*, or mountain dog of Mexico, with the *Glutton* (*z*).

The *Xolotzcuintli*, or bald dog, with the *Wolf*.

(*t*) Besides other characters of distinction between the *Llama*, the *Guanaco*, the *Vicugna*, and *Paco*, they have never been known to copulate though put together in one place. If this circumstance is sufficient to allow us to infer a difference of species between the dog and the wolf, quadrupeds very similar in external figure and internal organization, what ought we to conclude respecting four quadrupeds which are more different from each other than the dog is from the wolf?

(*u*) To render ourselves certain of the difference between the *Citli* and the *Tapete*, it is sufficient to compare the descriptions which Hernandez and Buffon give of each.

(*x*) See what we have said in the first book of our History concerning the difference between the Mexican ostrich and that of Guiana.

(*y*) The count de Buffon is desirous of persuading us that the *Tlacocelotl* and *Ocelotl*, are but one animal; the last the male, the other the female; that *Ocelotl* is the same name with *Tlacocelotl* excepting the syncope. We might as well say that *Canis* is not different from *Semicanis*, and that *Tygris* is the same as *Semitygris*, because the Mexican *Ocelotl* is the same thing with *Tygris*, and *Tlacocelotl* means nothing but *Semitygris*. The count de Buffon is not blameable for not knowing the Mexican language; but neither ought he to be excused for deciding on matters in which he was ignorant. Hernandez, who saw and examined as a naturalist both those two wild animals, certainly deserves the greater credit.

(*z*) See what we have said respecting these three last quadrupeds in our fourth Dissertation.

The *Itzcuintepozotli*, or hunch-backed dog, with the *Alco* or *Techichi*. We ought therefore to add these eight species, which he has confused with others, to the ninety-four above mentioned, which will make one hundred and two.

S E C T. III.

Species unknown, or unjustly denied by the Count de Buffon to America.

ACHUNI, *cercopithecus* of Quito, furnished with a long snout and very sharp teeth, and covered with hair like bristles. Manuscript in our possession.

AHUITZOTL, small amphibious quadruped of Mexico, described by us in our first book.

AMIZTLI, an amphibious quadruped of Mexico, described by us (*a*).

CACOMIZTLE, a quadruped of Mexico, similar to the pole-cat in its mode of living, but different in shape, described in our first book.

DOG of Cibola, or dog of burden, a quadruped of the country of Cibola, similar in form to a mastiff, which the Indians employ to carry burdens. Several historians of Mexico mention this strong animal.

CHICHICO, *cercopithecus* of Quito, so small that it can be held in the hand. It is found of different colours. MS.

CHILLIHUEQUE, a large quadruped of Chili, similar to the Guanaco, but different. History of Chili, by Molina.

CHINCHILLA, species of woolly field-rat, mentioned by many historians of South America.

CHINCHIMEN, or sea-eat, an amphibious quadruped of the sea of Chili. Nat. Hist. of Chili.

CINOCEPHALUS *Cercopithecus*, a quadruped of Mexico, of which Hernandez, Brisson, and others make mention.

COJOTE (in Mexico Cojotl), a wild beast described in this history.

a) In a note of the first book of our History we said that the *Amiztli* appeared to us the same quadruped with that called by Buffon *Saricovienne*; but on farther reflection and consideration we have found those two quadrupeds specifically different.

- DISSERT. COMMON RABBIT, called by the Mexicans *Tochtli*.
IV. CUL, or Peruvian rabbit, a small quadruped, similar to the Indian pig,
of which several historians of Peru make mention.
CULPEU, a particular species of large fox in Chili. Hist. of Chili.
DEGU, or dormouse of Chili. Ibid.
SEA-HOG, a particular species of amphibious hog of Chili. Ibid.
FERRET of Chili and Paraguay, called in Guarani *Jaguarohape*. Ibid.
and MS. with us.
HONEY-CAT. Thus the Spaniards name a quadruped of the province
of Chaco, in South America, similar in form to the cat, which lies
in watch for birds upon trees, and is extremely fond of the honey
of bees. MS. with us.
GUANQUE, a species of field-rat, of a blueish cast, in Chili. Nat.
Hist. Chili.
HORRO, great *cercopithecus* of Quito and Mexico, all black but the
neck, which is white. It cries loudly in the woods, and when up-
right on its feet measures the height of a man. MS. with us.
HUEMUL, cloven-footed horse of Chili. Hist. of Chili.
JAGUARON, in Guarani *Jaquaru*, an amphibious wild animal of
Paraguay, called by some naturalists the water-tiger. MS. with
us.
KIKI, quadruped of Chili, of the weazel kind. Hist. of Chili.
MAJAN, quadruped similar to a hog, which has a round body, and its
bristles sticking up. It inhabits Paraguay. MS. with us.
PISCO-CUSHILLO, or *avis cercopithecus*, *cercopithecus* of Quito,
which is covered from the neck to the tail with a certain kind of
feathers. MS. with us.
Common HEDGE-HOG of Paraguay. MS. with us.
RAT, most common in America before the Spaniards landed there,
and called by the Mexicans *Quimichin*. Described by us.
The common FIELD-RAT of Mexico and other countries of Ame-
rica.
TAJE, a quadruped of California, of which mention is made both
in the printed history and in manuscripts of that peninsula. The
Taje is unquestionably the *Ibex* of Pliny, described by count de Buf-
fon under the name *Bouquetin*.

TAITETU, a quadruped of Paraguay, of the hog kind, the female of which brings forth two young which are united together by means of the navel-string. MS. by us.

WHITE BADGER of New York, described by Brisson.

THOPEL-LAME, an amphibious quadruped of the sea of Chili, a species of sea-calf, more similar still to the lion than that seen by lord Anson. History of Chili.

TLALCOJOTE, in Mexico *Tlalcojotl*, a common quadruped of Mexico, described in book i.

Common WHITE FIELD MOUSE of Mexico.

Common FIELD MOUSE of Mexico and other countries of America.

MOUSE of Maule, a quadruped of that province, in the kingdom of Chili, similar to the Marmot, but twice as large. Hist. of Chili.

TREFLE, or *Trefoil*, a large quadruped of North America, described by Bomare.

VISCACHA of the fields, a quadruped similar to the rabbit, but furnished with a large tail turned upwards. Acosta and other historians of South America mention it.

VISCACHA of the mountains, a quadruped extremely beautiful, of the same kind with that of the fields, but different in species. MS. by us.

USNAGUA, or *Cercopithecus nocturnus* of Quito. MS. &c.

These forty species, added to those one hundred and two above mentioned, make one hundred and forty-two species of American quadrupeds. If we add to those, horses, asses, bulls, sheep, goats, common hogs, and Guinea-pigs, dogs, cats, and house mice, transported there since the conquest, we shall have at present an hundred and fifty-two species in America. Count de Buffon, who in all his Natural History does not enumerate more than two hundred species of quadrupeds in the countries of the world hitherto discovered, in his work entitled, *Epoches de la Nature*, reckons now three hundred; so large has the increase been in the space of a few years! But now that they are three hundred, America, although it does not make more than a third part of the globe, has, notwithstanding, almost one half of the species of its quadrupeds. We repeat *almost*, because we have omitted

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all those of which we are in doubt whether they are different from those described by Buffon. Our principal aim in forming this catalogue has not been to show the mistakes of the count de Buffon in his enumeration of American quadrupeds, and the error of his opinions concerning the imagined scarcity of matter in the new world, but to be of some service to European naturalists by pointing out to them some quadrupeds hitherto unknown, and removing in some degree those difficulties which have been occasioned by indistinct appellations of them. They might desire to have exact descriptions along with them, and even in this we should be willing to contribute every thing in our power, were it not foreign to our purpose. In order to make this catalogue, besides the great study in which it has engaged us, we have obtained written informations from persons of learning and accuracy of knowledge, experienced in different countries of America, for whose obliging communications we owe them the greatest acknowledgements.

DISSERTATION V.

On the Physical and Moral Constitution of the Mexicans.

IN Mexico and the other countries of America four classes of men may be distinguished. First, The proper Americans, commonly called Indians, or those who are descended of the ancient peoplers of that new world, and have not mixed their blood with the people of the old continent. Secondly, The European Asiatics and Africans established in those countries. Thirdly, The sons or descendants of them who have been called by the Spaniards *Criollos*,—that is *Creoles*, although the name principally belongs to those descendants of Europeans whose blood has not been mixed with that of the Americans, Asiatics, or Africans. Fourthly, The mixed breeds called by the Spaniards *castas*, that is those who are born or descended of an European and an American, or from a European and an African, or from an African and American, &c. All those classes of men have been fatèd to meet with the contempt and defamation of M. de Paw. He supposes or feigns the climate of the new world to be so malignant as to cause the degeneracy of not only the Creoles and proper Americans who are born in it, but also those Europeans who reside there, although they have been born under a milder sky, and a climate more favourable, as he imagines, to all animals. If M. de Paw had wrote his Philosophical Researches in America, we might with reason apprehend the degeneracy of the human species under the climate of America; but as we find that work and many others of the same stamp produced in Europe, we are confirmed by them in the truth of the Italian proverb taken from the Greek, *Tutto il mondo è paese*. But leaving aside the prejudices and prepossessions of that philosopher and his partisans against the other classes of men, we shall only treat of that which he has written against the native Americans, as they are the most injured and the least defended. If in the writing of this dissertation we had

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given way to interest or passion, we would rather have undertaken the defence of the Creoles, which, besides that it would have been more easy, should naturally have interested us more. We are descended of Spanish parents, we have no affinity or relation to the Indians, nor can we hope for any recompence from their misery: our motive is the love of truth, and the cause of humanity.

S E C T. I.

Of the Corporeal Qualities of the Mexicans.

M. de Paw, who finds fault with the stature, the formation, and the supposed irregularities of the animals of America, has not been more indulgent towards its men. If the animals appeared to him a sixth part less in size than those of Europe, the men, as he reports, are also smaller than the Castilians. If in the animals he remarked the want of tail, in the men he complains of the want of hair. If in the animals he found many striking deformities, in the men he abuses the complexion and shape. If he believed that the animals there, were not so strong as those of the old continent, he affirms in like manner, that the men are feeble in extreme, and subject to a thousand distempers occasioned by the corruption of the air and the stench of the soil.

Concerning the stature of the Americans, he says in general, that although it is not equal to the stature of the Castilians, there is but little difference between them. But we are confident, and it is notorious through the whole of New Spain, that the Indians who inhabit those countries, lying between nine and forty degrees of north latitude, which are the limits of the discoveries of the Spaniards, are more than five Parisian feet in height, and that those who do not reach that stature are as few in number amongst the Indians as they are amongst the Spaniards. We are certain besides, that many of those nations, as the *Apaches*, the *Hiaquese*, the *Pimese*, and *Cochimies*, are at least as tall as the tallest Europeans; and we are not conscious, that in all the vast extent of the new world, a race of people has been found, except the *Esquimaux*, so diminutive in stature as the *Laplanders*, the *Samojeds*,

and Tartars, in the north of the old continent. In this respect, therefore, the inhabitants of the two continents are upon an equality.

In regard to the regularity and proportion of the limbs of the Mexicans, we do not need to say more than we have already said in our first book. We are persuaded, that among all those who may read this work in America, no one will contradict the description we have given of the shape and character of the Indians, unless he views them with the eye of a prejudiced mind. It is true, that Ulloa says, in speaking of the Indians of Quito, he had observed, "that imperfect people abounded among them, that they were either irregularly diminutive, or monstrous in some other respect, that they became either insensible, dumb, or blind, or wanted some limb of their body:" but having ourselves made some inquiry respecting this singularity of the Quitans, we were informed by persons deserving of credit, and acquainted with those countries, that such defects were neither caused by bad humours, nor by the climate, but by the mistaken and blind humanity of their parents, who, in order to free their children from the hardships and toils to which the healthy Indians are subjected by the Spaniards, fix some deformity or weakness upon them, that they may become useless: a circumstance of misery which does not happen in other countries of America, nor in those places of the same kingdom of Quito, where the Indians are under no such oppression. M. de Paw, and, in agreement with him, Dr. Robertson, says, that no deformed persons are to be found among the savages of America; because, like the ancient Lacedemonians, they put to death those children which are born hunch-backed, blind, or defective in any limb; but that in those countries where they are formed into societies, and the vigilance of their rulers prevents the murder of such infants, the number of their deformed and irregular individuals is greater than it is in any other country of Europe. This would make an exceeding good solution of the difficulty if it were true: but if, possibly, there has been in America a tribe of savages who have imitated the barbarous example (*a*) of the celebrated Lacedemonians, it is certain that those authors have no

(*a*) That the inhuman practice of killing children which were born deformed, was not only permitted in Rome, but was prescribed by the laws of the Twelve Tables. *Pater insignem ad deformitatem puerum cito necato.*

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grounds to impute such inhumanity to the rest of the Americans; for that it has not been the practice, at least with the far greater part of those nations, is to be demonstrated from the attestations of the authors the best acquainted with their customs. Besides, in all the countries of Mexico, or New Spain, which makes at least one fourth of the new world, the Indians lived in societies together, and assembled in cities, towns, and villages, under the care of Spanish or Creole magistrates and governors, and no such instances of cruelty towards their infants are ever seen or heard of; yet deformed people are so uncommon, that all the Spaniards and Creoles, who came from Mexico to Italy, in the year 1768, were then, and are still much surprised to observe the great number of blind, hunch-backed, lame, and otherwise deformed people, in the cities of that cultivated peninsula. The cause of this phenomenon, which so many writers have observed among the Americans, must therefore be different from that to which the above mentioned authors would impute it.

No argument against the new world can be drawn from the colour of the Americans; because their colour is less distant from the white of the Europeans than it is from the black of the Africans, and a great part of the Asiatics. The hair of the Mexicans, and of the greater part of the Indians, is, as we have already said, coarse and thick; on their face they have little, and in general (*b*) none of their arms and legs: but it is an error to say, as M. de Paw does, that they are entirely destitute of hair in all the other parts of their body. This is one of the many passages of the Philosophical Researches, at which the Mexicans and all the other nations, must smile to find an European philosopher so eager to divest them of the dress they had from nature. He read, without doubt, that ignominious description, which Ulloa gives of some people of South America (*c*), and from this single premise, according to his logic, he deduces his general conclusion.

(*b*) We say, in general, because there are Americans in Mexico who are bearded, and have hair on their arms and limbs.

(*c*) Ulloa, in the description which he gives of the Indians of Quito, says, that hair neither grows upon the men nor upon the women when they arrive a puberty, as it does on the rest of mankind; but whatever singularity may attend the Quitans, or occasion this circumstance, there is no doubt that among the Americans in general, the period of puberty is accompanied with the same symptoms as it is among other nations of the world.

The very aspect of an Angolan, Mandingan, or Congan, would have shocked M. de Paw, and made him recall that censure which he passes on the colour, the make, and hair of the Americans. What can be imagined more contrary to the idea we have of beauty, and the perfection of the human frame, than a man whose body emits a rank smell, whose skin is as black as ink, whose head and face are covered with black wool, instead of hair, whose eyes are yellow and bloody, whose lips are thick and blackish, and whose nose is flat? Such are the inhabitants of a very large portion of Africa, and of many islands of Asia. What men can be more imperfect than those who measure no more than four feet in stature, whose faces are long and flat, the nose compressed, the *irides* yellowish black, the eyelids turned back towards the temples, the cheeks extraordinarily elevated, their mouths monstrously large, their lips thick and prominent, and the lower part of their visages extremely narrow? Such, according to count de Buffon (*d*), are the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the *Borandines*, the *Samojeds*, and Tartars in the East. What objects more deformed than men, whose faces are too long and wrinkled even in their youth, their noses thick and compressed, their eyes small and sunk, their cheeks very much raised, the upper jaw low, their teeth long and disunited, their eye-brows so thick, that they shade their eyes; the eye-lids thick, some bristles on their faces instead of beard, large thighs and small legs? Such is the picture count de Buffon gives of the Tartars, that is of those people who, as he says, inhabit a tract of land in Asia, twelve hundred leagues long and upwards, and more than seven hundred and fifty broad. Amongst these the Calmucks are the most remarkable for their deformity, which is so great, that, according to Tavernier, they are the most brutal men of all the universe. Their faces are so broad, that there is a space of five or six inches between their eyes, according as count de Buffon himself affirms. In Calicut, in Ceylon, and other countries of India, there is, say Pyrrard and other writers on those regions, a race of men, who have one or both of their legs as thick as the body of a man; and that this deformity among them is almost hereditary. The Hottentots, besides other gross imperfections, have that

(*d*) Hist. Nat. tom. vi.

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monstrous irregularity attending them, of a callous appendage extending from the os pubis downwards, according to the testimony of the historians of the Cape of Good Hope. Struys, Gemelli, and other travellers affirm, that in the kingdom of Lambry, in the islands of Formosa and of Mindoro, men have been found with tails. Bomare says (*e*) that a thing of this kind in men is nothing else than an elongation of the *os coccygis*; but what is a tail in quadrupeds but the elongation of that bone, though divided into distinct articulations (*f*)? However it may be, it is certain that that elongation renders those Asiatics fully as irregular as if it were a real tail.

If we were, in like manner, to go through the nations of Asia and Africa, we should hardly find any extensive country where the colour of men is not darker, where there are not stronger irregularities observed, and grosser defects to be found in them, than M. de Paw finds fault with in the Americans. The colour of the latter is a good deal clearer than that of almost all the Africans, and the inhabitants of southern Asia. The scantiness of beard is common to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and of all the Indian Archipelago, to the famous Chinese, Japanese, Tartars, and many other nations of the old continent. The imperfections of the Americans, however great they may be represented to be, are certainly not comparable with the defects of that immense people, whose character we have sketched, and others whom we omit. All these circumstances might have restrained the pen of M. de Paw; but they slipped his memory, or he shut out the recollection of them.

M. de Paw represents the Americans to be a feeble and diseased set of nations: Ulloa, on the contrary, affirms, that they are healthy, robust, and strong. Which of the two merits the greater credit? M. de Paw, who undertook at Berlin to review the Americans without knowing them; or Ulloa, who resided amongst them for some years, and conversed with them in different countries of South America; M. de Paw, who employed himself to degrade and debase them, in order to establish his absurd system of degeneracy, or Ulloa, who, though

(*e*) Diction. de Histoire Nat. v. Homme.

(*f*) See Heister, Anat. de *Ossibus trunci*.

by no means favourable in general to the Indians, was not bent on forming any system, but only on writing what he judged to be true? The impartial reader will decide this question.

M. de Paw, in order to demonstrate the weakness and disorder of the physical constitution of the Americans, adduces several proofs, which we ought not to omit. These are, 1. That the first Americans who were brought to Europe went mad during their voyage, and their madness continued till death. 2. That grown men in many parts of America have milk in their breasts. 3. That the American women are delivered with great facility, have an extraordinary plenty of milk, and the periodical evacuation of blood is scanty and irregular. 4. That the least vigorous European conquered, in wrestling, any American whatever. 5. That the Americans could not bear the weight of a light burthen. 6. That they were subject to the venereal distemper, and other endemic diseases.

With regard to the first proof, we deny it as being altogether false and inconsistent. M. de Paw says, on the faith of the Fleming Dappers, that the first Americans whom Columbus brought with him in 1493, were going to kill themselves during the voyage; but that having been bound, in order to prevent them from doing so, they run mad, and their madness lasted while they lived; that when they entered into Barcelona, they frightened the citizens to such a degree with their howls, their contorsions, and their convulsive motions, that they were thought to be delirious. We have never seen the work of Dappers, but we have no doubt that his account is a string of fables; for we do not find that either any of his contemporary authors, nor those who wrote in the years immediately following, make any mention of such an event; but, on the contrary, from what they say, it is easy to demonstrate the falsity of his story. Gonzalez Hernandez Oviedo, who was in Barcelona when Columbus arrived, saw, and knew those Americans, and was an eye-witness of what happened, says nothing of their madness, their howls, and contorsions, which he would not naturally have omitted had they been true, as he was rather unfavourable to the Indians, as we have said before, particularly when he was minutely relating their entry into that city, their baptism, their names, and in part their end. He says, that Columbus brought with him, from the island of His-

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paniola, ten Americans, one of which died on the passage, three remained sick in Palos, a port of Andalusia, where, as he imagines, they died soon after, and the other six came to Barcelona, where the court was then held: that they were well instructed in the Christian doctrines, and baptised. Peter Martyr, of Aighera, who was also in Spain when Columbus arrived, makes mention of the Indians (*k*) which that famous admiral brought with him, but does not say a word about their madness: on the contrary, he relates, that, when Cortes returned to Hispaniola, he carried back three of the Indians with him, as all the others had died by that time, from change of air and food (*l*); and that he employed one of them to gain information of the state of the Spaniards whom he had left in that island. Ferdinand Columbus, a learned and diligent writer of the life of Christopher Columbus his father, who happened also to be in Spain at that time, makes a minute detail of the voyages and actions of his glorious parent, speaks of the Indians whom he had seen, and relates nothing more of them than P. Martyr. The account given by Dappers, therefore, is false, or at least we will say that madmen learned the Spanish language, that the Catholic kings chose madmen to be with them, to amuse them with their horrible howls; and lastly, that Columbus, the prudent Columbus, made use of one of these madmen, to gain information of all that had happened to the Spaniards in Hispaniola, while he had been absent.

The anecdote of milk in the breasts of the Americans is one of the most curious which we read in the Philosophical Researches, and most worthy to excite our smiles, and the mirth of all the Americans: but

(*k*) Sommar. della Stor. delle Ind. Occid. cap. 4.

(*l*) To the causes of the death of those Americans, mentioned by P. Martyr, may be added the extraordinary hardships they suffered in that horrid voyage, the circumstances of which are to be found in the letters of Columbus, published by his son. From the number of those who died, mentioned by Martyr, an exception ought to be made of that American whom the prince Don John retained with him, as he did not die till two years after, according to the testimony of Oviedo. But although they had all died on the voyage, or become frantic and mad, it should not cause any wonder, considering what is recited by M. de Paw himself, in part iii. sect. 2. of his Researches — “*Les academiciens François,*” he says, “*enleverent au de la de Torneo deux Lapons, qui, obsédés et martyrisés par ces philosophes, moururent de desespoir en route.*” Neither the country which the Laplanders left, nor the voyage which they had to make, can be compared with the country and the voyage of those Americans; nor can we imagine the Spanish sailors, of the fifteenth century, so humane as the French academicians of the eighteenth.

it is necessary to confess, that M. de Paw has shown more moderation than many others whom he has quoted. The celebrated naturalist Johnston, affirms, in his *Thaumato-graphia*, on the faith of we know not what travellers, that in the new world almost all the men abound with milk in their breasts. In all Brasil, says the author of the Historical Researches, the men alone suckle children, for the women have hardly any milk. We do not know whether most to admire the effrontery and impudence of those travellers who invent and publish such fables, or the excess of simplicity in those who repeat them. If there had ever been a nation of the new world, in which such a phenomenon had been observed (which M. de Paw cannot prove), that certainly would not have been sufficient to say, that in many places of America milk abounds in the breasts of men; and much less to affirm, as Johnston does, of almost all the men in the new world.

Those singularities, which M. de Paw remarks in the American women, would be most acceptable to them, if they were true; for nothing certainly could be more desirable to them, than to be freed from the pains and difficulties of child-bearing, to abound with that liquor which nourishes their children, and to be spared the inconveniencies which are occasioned by those periodical and disagreeable evacuations? But that which would be esteemed by them a circumstance of happiness, is reported by M. de Paw as a proof of their degeneracy; for, that ease of delivery, he says, shows the expansion of the vaginal passage, and the relaxation of the muscles of the matrix, on account of the fluids being too copious: their abundance can only proceed from the humidity of their constitutions, and that, otherwise, they do not conform with the women of the old continent; whereas they, according to M. de Paw's legislation, are the model of all the world. Surely it must excite the wonder of every one, that whereas the author of the Historical Researches remarks such a scarcity of milk in the American women, that the men are obliged to suckle their own children; the author of the Philosophical Researches, on the contrary, should attribute to them such an extraordinary abundance of it; and who is there, that, in reading these and other similar contradictions and tales published in Europe, particularly a few years back, will not discover that the travellers, historians, naturalists, and philo-

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sophers of Europe, have made America the magazine of their fables and fictions; and in order to render their works more entertaining, from the marvellous novelty of their pretended observations, have ascribed to all the Americans whatever singularities have been observed in one individual, or perhaps in none?

The American women are subject to the common sentence of nature, and are not delivered without pains; possibly, not with so much apparatus as attends the women of Europe, because they are less delicate, and more accustomed to the inconveniencies of life. Thevenot says, that the Mogul women are delivered with great ease, and that the day after they are seen going through the streets of the cities; and yet there is no reason to find fault with their fruitfulness or their constitution.

The quantity and quality of milk in the American women in Mexico, and other countries of America, are well known to the European and Creole ladies, who take them commonly as wet-nurses to their children: they find that they are wholesome, faithful, and diligent, in such service. Nor does it matter to say, that the ancient Americans are talked of, and not the moderns, as M. de Paw has sometimes replied to his adversary Don Pernety; since, besides that his propositions against the Americans are all meant of the present day, as it is manifest to every one who has read his work, that distinction has no place in many countries of America, and particularly in Mexico. The Mexicans use, for the most part, the same food which they fed upon before the conquest. The climate, if possibly it is changed in some regions, from the cutting down of the woods, and the draining of stagnant waters, in Mexico is still the same. Those who have compared, as we have, the accounts of the first Spaniards with the present state of that kingdom, know that the same lakes, the same rivers, and in general the same woods, still subsist.

With respect to the *menses* of the American women, we can give no account; nor do we know who can. M. de Paw, who has from Berlin seen so many things of America, has perhaps found, in some French author, the manner of knowing that which we neither can, nor choose to inquire into. But granting that the menstrual evacuation of the American women is scanty and irregular, it argues nothing

against their constitution, as the quantity of that evacuation depends, as count de Buffon justly observes, on the quantity of their aliment, and insensible perspiration. Women who eat much, and take little exercise, have abundant *menses*. In hot countries, where perspiration is more copious than it is in cold, that evacuation is more sparing. If the scantiness of such evacuation can proceed from sobriety in eating, from the heat of the clime, and exercise, why produce it as an argument of a bad constitution? Besides, we do not know how to reconcile that scantiness of the menses with the superabundance of fluids, which M. de Paw supposes in the women of America to be a consequence of the disorder of their physical constitution.

The proofs above mentioned of the weakness of the Americans, are not better supported. M. de Paw says that they were overcome in wrestling by all the Europeans, and that they sunk under a moderate burden; that, by a computation made, two hundred thousand Americans were found to have perished in one year from carrying of baggage. With respect to the first point, it would be necessary that the experiment of wrestling was made between many individuals of each continent, and that the victory should be attested by the Americans as well as the Europeans. But however that may be, we do not pretend to maintain, that the Americans are stronger than the Europeans: they may be less strong, without the human species having degenerated in them: the Swiss are stronger than the Italians, and still we do not believe the Italians are degenerated, nor do we tax the climate of Italy. The instance of two hundred thousand Americans having died in one year, under the weight of baggage, were it true, would not convince us so much of the weakness of the Americans, as of the inhumanity of the Europeans. In the same manner that those two hundred thousand Americans perished, two hundred thousand Prussians would also have perished, had they been obliged to make a journey of between three and four hundred miles, with a hundred pounds of burden upon their backs; if they had collars of iron about their necks, and were obliged to carry that load over rocks and mountains; if those who became exhausted with fatigue, or wounded their feet so as to impede their progress, had their heads cut off, that they might not retard the pace of the rest; and if they were not allowed but a small morsel of bread

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to enable them to support so severe a toil. The same author (*m*) from whom M. de Paw got the account of the two hundred thousand Americans who died under the fatigue of carrying baggage, relates also all the above-mentioned circumstances. If that author therefore is to be credited in the last, he is also to be credited in the first. But a philosopher who vaunts the physical and moral qualities of the Europeans over those of the Americans, would have done better, we think, to have suppressed facts so opprobrious to the Europeans themselves. It is true, that neither Europe in general, nor any nation of it in particular, can be blamed for the excesses into which some individuals run, especially in countries so distant from the metropolis, and when they act against the express will and repeated orders of their sovereigns; but if the Americans were disposed to make use of M. de Paw's logic, they might from such premises deduce universal conclusions against the old continent, in the same manner as he is continually forming arguments against the whole of the new world, from what has been observed in some particular people, or possibly only in some individuals.

He allows the Americans a great agility of body, and swiftness in running; because they are accustomed from childhood to this exercise: neither then ought he to deny them strength; for, as it is clear from their history and from their paintings, that as soon as they could walk they were habituated to carry burdens, in which occupation they were to be employed all their lives; in like manner no other nation ought to be more vigorous in carrying burdens, because no other exercised itself so much as the Americans in carrying loads on their backs, on account of their want of beasts of burden (*n*), with which other nations were provided. If M. de Paw had seen, as we have, the enormous weights which the Americans support on their shoulders, he would never have reproached them with feebleness.

But nothing demonstrates so clearly the robustness of the Americans as those various and lasting fatigues in which they are continually engaged. M. de Paw says (*o*), that when the new world was disco-

(*m*) Las Casas.

(*n*) Although the Peruvians had beasts of burden, these were not such as could serve them in transporting those large stones which were found in some of their buildings, and in those of Mexico: having no machines either for assisting them in that work, it must have been done solely by the strength of men.

(*o*) *Défensé des Recherches*, cap. xii.

vered, nothing was to be seen but thick woods ; and that at present there are some lands cultivated, not by the Americans, however, but by the Africans and Europeans ; and that the soil in cultivation is to the soil which is uncultivated, as two thousand to two millions. These three assertions are precisely as many errors. To reserve, however, what belongs to the labours of the ancient Mexicans for another Dissertation, and to speak only of latter times, it is certain, that, since the conquest, the Americans alone have been the people who have supported all the fatigues of agriculture in all the vast countries of the continent of South America, and in the greater part of those of South America subject to the crown of Spain. No European is ever to be seen employed in the labours of the field. The Moors, who, in comparison of the Americans, are very few in number in the kingdom of New Spain, are charged with the culture of the sugar-cane and tobacco, and the making of sugar ; but the soil destined for the cultivation of those plants is not, with respect to all the cultivated land of that country, in the proportion of one to two thousand. The Americans are the people who labour on the soil. They are the tillers, the sowers, the weeders, and the reapers of the wheat, of the maize, of the rice, of the beans, and other kinds of grain and pulse, of the cacao, of the vanilla, of the cotton, of the indigo, and all other plants useful to the sustenance, the clothing, and commerce of those provinces ; and without them so little can be done, that, in the year 1762, the harvest of wheat was abandoned in many places, on account of a sickness which prevailed, and prevented the Indians from reaping it. But this is not all : the Americans are they who cut and transport all the necessary timber from the woods ; who cut, transport, and work the stones ; who make lime, plaster, and tiles ; who construct all the buildings of that kingdom, except a few places where none of them inhabit ; who open and repair all the roads, who make the canals and sluices, and clean the cities. They work in many mines of gold, of silver, of copper, &c. ; they are the shepherds, herdsmen, weavers, potters, basket-makers, bakers, curriers, day-labourers, &c. ; in a word, they are the persons who bear all the burthen of public labours. These are the employments of the weak, dastardly, and useless Americans, while

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the vigorous M. de Paw and other indefatigable Europeans are occupied in writing invectives against them.

These labours, in which the Indians are continually employed, certainly attest their healthiness and strength; as, if they are able to undergo such fatigues, they cannot be diseased, nor have an exhausted stream of blood in their veins, as M. de Paw insinuates. In order to make it be believed that their constitutions are vitiated, he copies whatever he finds written by historians of America, whether true or false, respecting the diseases which reign in some particular countries of that great continent; and especially concerning the venereal distemper, which he conceives to be truly American. With respect to the venereal disorder, we shall treat of it at large in another Dissertation: concerning other diseases, we grant, that, in some countries in the wide compass of America, men are exposed more than elsewhere to the distempers which are occasioned by the intemperature of the air, or the pernicious quality of the aliments; but it is certain, according to the assertion of many respectable authors acquainted with the new world, that the American countries are for the most part healthy; and if the Americans were disposed to retaliate on M. de Paw and other European authors who write as he does, they would have abundant subject of materials to throw discredit on the clime of the old continent, and the constitution of its inhabitants in the endemic distempers which prevail there, such as the *elephantiasis* and leprosy of Egypt and Syria (*p*), the *verben* of southern Asia, the *dragoncello* or worm of Medina, the *pircal* of Malabar, the yaws or Guinea evil, the *tiriasi* or *morbis pedicularis* of Little Tartary, the scurvy and dysentery of northern countries, the *plica* of Poland, the goîtres of Tyrol and many Alpine countries, the itch, rickets, the small-pox (*q*), and above all the plague, which has so often depopu-

(*p*) The *elephantiasis*, an endemic disease of Egypt, and entirely unknown in America, was so common in Europe in the thirteenth century, that there were, according to what Mathew Paris says, an exact writer of that time, nineteen thousand hospitals for it.

(*q*) The small-pox was carried to America by the Europeans, and made as great a havoc there as the venereal disease did in Europe. The rickets is a distemper unknown in the new world: this we conceive the principal cause of there being fewer deformed and imperfectly shaped people there than in Europe. The itch either exists not at all, or so rarely, that during many years' residence in different countries of Mexico, we never saw one infected with that disease,

lated whole cities and provinces of the old continent, and which annually commits immense havoc in the East: the most terrible scourge of the human race, but hitherto warded off from the new world.

Lastly, The supposed feebleness and unsound bodily habit of the Americans do not correspond with the length of their lives. Among those Americans whose great fatigues and excessive toils do not anticipate their death, there are not a few who reach the age of eighty, ninety, and an hundred years; and, what is more, without there being observed in them that decay which time commonly produces in the hair, in the teeth, in the skin, and in the muscles of the human body. This phenomenon, so much admired by the Spaniards who reside in Mexico, cannot be ascribed to any other cause than the vigour of their constitutions, the temperance of their diet, and the salubrity of their clime. Historians, and other persons who have sojourned there for many years, report the same thing of other countries of the new world. But if possibly there is any region where life is not so much prolonged, at least there is no one where it is so much shortened as in Guinea, in Sierra Leona, in the Cape of Good Hope, and other countries of Africa, in which old age commonly begins at forty; and he who arrives at fifty is looked upon as an octogenary is with us (*r*). Of them it might be said with some show of reason, that their blood is wasted, and their physical constitution is overthrown.

nor ever heard of any one who was. The *vomito prieto*, which appears to be an endemic distemper also, is extremely modern, and is not felt except in some places of the torrid zone frequented by Europeans. The first who were seized with it were the sailors of some European vessels, who immediately after the bad diet they had during their voyage, ate greedily of fruit and drank immoderately of brandy. Ulloa affirms, that in Carthageua, one of the most unhealthy places of America, this distemper was not known before the year 1729, and that it began among the crews of the European vessels, which arrived there under the command of D. D. Giustiniani.

(*r*) The Hottentots, says Buffon, are short livers, for they hardly exceed forty years of age. Drack attests that certain nations inhabiting the frontiers of the Ethiopian districts, on account of the scarcity of aliment, feed on salted locusts, and that this wretched food produces a horrid effect; when they arrive at the age of forty, certain flying insects breed upon their bodies, which soon occasion their deaths, by devouring first their belly, then their breast, and lastly, their very bones. These, and the kind of insects by which, as M. de Paw himself confesses, the inhabitants of Little Tartary are destroyed, are certainly greatly worse than those worms which, he says, are found amongst some people of America.

S E C T. II.

On the mental Qualities of the Mexicans.

HITHERTO we have examined what M. de Paw has said concerning the corporeal qualities of the Americans. Let us now see what are his speculations concerning their minds. He has not been able to discover any other characters than a memory so feeble, that today they do not remember what they did yesterday; a capacity so blunt that they are incapable of thinking, or putting their ideas in order; a disposition so cold, that they feel no excitement of love; a dastardly spirit, and a genius that is torpid and indolent. In short, he paints the Americans in such colours, and debases their souls to such a degree, that although he sometimes inveighs against them, that they put their very rationality in doubt, we do not doubt, that if he had then been consulted, he would have declared himself contrary to the opinion of *rationalists*. We know well that many other Europeans, and, what is still more wonderful, many of those children or descendants of Europeans who are born in America, think as M. de Paw does; some from ignorance, some from want of reflection, and others from hereditary prejudice and prepossession. But all this and more would not be sufficient to belie our own experience and the testimony of other Europeans whose authority have a great deal more weight, both because they were men of great judgment, learning, and knowledge of these countries, and because they gave their testimony in favour of strangers against their own countrymen. The attestations and arguments which we could adduce in favour of the mental qualities of the Americans are so numerous, that they would fill a great volume; we shall, however, to avoid prolixity or confusion, confine ourselves to a few, which are worth a thousand others.

Zummarraga, first bishop of Mexico, a prelate of happy memory, and highly esteemed by the catholic kings, for his learning and irreproachable life, his pastoral zeal and apostolic labours, in his letter written in the year 1531, to the general chapter of the P. P.

Franciscans, assembled in Tolosa, speaks thus of the Indians: "They are temperate and ingenious, particularly in the art of painting. They are not ungifted with mental talents. The Lord be praised for all." If M. de Paw does not value the testimony of this most venerable prelate; whom he calls a bigot and barbarian, in right of that authority which he has arrogated to himself to injure those whose sentiments are not conformable to his extravagant system of degeneracy, let him read what Las Casas, the first bishop of Chiapa, has written, who knew them well, from having resided many years in different parts of America. He in a memorial presented to Philip II. speaks of them thus: "The Americans also are people of a bright and lively genius, easy to be taught and to apprehend every good doctrine, extremely ready to embrace our faith and virtuous customs, and the people of all others in the world who feel least embarrassment in it." He makes use almost of the same expressions in his refutation of the answers of Dr. Sepulveda: "The Indians have," he says, "as good an understanding and acute a genius, as much docility and capacity for the moral and speculative sciences, and are, in most instances, as rational in their political government, as appears from many of their extremely prudent laws, and are as far advanced in the knowledge of our faith and religion, in good customs and civilization where they have been tutored by persons of religious and exemplary life, and are arriving at refinement and polish as fast as any nation ever did since the times of the apostles." Since M. de Paw believes all that which this learned exemplary prelate wrote against the Spaniards, although he was not present at the greater part of the facts which he relates, he ought much more to believe that which the same bishop deposes in favour of the Americans, as an eye-witness and resident among them; as there is much less requisite to make us believe that the Americans are people of a good genius and disposition, than to persuade us of those horrid and unheard-of cruelties of the Spanish conquerors.

But if he does not admit the testimony of that great bishop, because he esteems him, though wrongfully, to have been a cheat, and ambitious hypocrite, he may read the deposition concerning them of the first bishop of Tlascala, Garces, a most learned man, and highly and

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justly esteemed by his famous patron Ant. de Nebrija, the restorer of letters in Spain. This renowned prelate, in his Latin letter to pope Paul III. written in 1536, after ten years' continual commerce with, and observation of the Americans, among many praises which he bestows on their dispositions, and the gifts of their minds, he extols their genius, and in some degree raises it above that of his countrymen, as may appear from the passage of his letter which we have subjoined here below(s). What person is there who would not give greater faith to those three bishops, who, besides their probity, their learning, and character, had long commerce with the Americans, than to other authors who either never saw the Americans, or viewed them without reflection, or paid improper and unjust deference to the informations of ignorant, prejudiced, or interested men.

But lastly, if M. de Paw refuses the depositions of these three witnesses, however respectable, because they were ecclesiastics, to whom he thinks weakness of mind attached, he cannot but submit to the judgment of the famous bishop of Angelopoli, Palafox. M. de Paw, though a Prussian and a philosopher, calls that prelate *the venerable servant of God*. If he gives so much faith to this *venerable servant of God* in what he wrote against the Jesuits in his own cause, why not believe him in what he has written in favour of the Americans? Let him read the work of this prelate, composed in order to demonstrate the disposition, genius, and virtues of the Indians.

Notwithstanding the implacable hatred which M. de Paw bears to the ecclesiastics of the Roman church, and to the Jesuits in particular, he praises the Natural and Moral History of Acosta, and calls it very justly *an excellent work*. This judicious, impartial, and very learned Spaniard, who saw and observed with his own eyes the Americans in Peru as well as Mexico, employs the whole sixth book of this *excellent work* in demonstrating the good sense of the Americans by

(s) " Nunc vero de horum sigillatim hominum ingenio, quos vidimus ab hinc decennio, quo ego in Patria convesatus eorum potui perspicere mores ac ingenia persecutari, testificans coram te, Beatissime Pater qui Christi in terris Vicarium agis quod vidi quod audivi et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de his progenitis ab ecclesia per qualecumque ministerium meum in verbo vitæ quod singula singulis referendo, id est paribus paria, rationis optimæ compotes sunt et integri sensus ac capitis sed insuper nostratibus pueri istorum et vigore spiritus et sensuum vivacitate dexteriore in omni agibili et intelligibili præstanti-ores reperiuntur."

an explanation of their ancient government, their laws, their histories in paintings and knots, calendars, &c. To be informed of his opinion on this subject, it will be sufficient to read the first chapter of that book. We request M. de Paw, as well as our readers, to read it attentively, as there are matters in it worthy of being known. M. de Paw will discover there the origin of the error into which he and many Europeans have fallen, and will perceive the great difference there is between viewing things while the sight is dimmed by passion and prejudices, and examining them with impartiality and cool judgment. M. de Paw thinks the Americans are bestial; Acosta, on the other hand, reputes those persons weak and presumptuous, who think them so. M. de Paw says, that the most acute Americans were inferior in industry and sagacity to the rudest nations of the old continent. Acosta extols the civil government of the Mexicans above many republics of Europe. M. de Paw finds, in the moral and political conduct of the Americans, nothing but barbarity, extravagance, and brutality; and Acosta finds there, laws that are admirable and worthy of being preserved for ever. To which of these two authors our greatest faith is due, the impartial reader will decide.

We cannot here avoid the insertion of a passage of the Philosophical Researches, in which the author discovers his turn for defamation as well as enmity to truth. "At first," he says, "the Americans were not believed to be men, but rather satyrs, or large apes, which might be murdered without remorse or reproach. At last, in order to add insult to the oppression of those times, a pope made an original bull, in which he declared, that being desirous of founding bishoprics in the richest countries of America, it pleased him and the Holy Spirit to acknowledge the Americans to be true men: in so far, that without this decision of an Italian, the inhabitants of the new world would have appeared, even at this day, to the eyes of the faithful, a race of equivocal men. There is no example of such a decision, since this globe has been inhabited by men and apes." We should rejoice that there was no other example in the world of such calumnies and insolence as those of M. de Paw; but that we may put the complexion of this passage in its true light, we shall give a copy of that decision, after having explained the occasion of it.

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Some of the first Europeans who established themselves in America, not less powerful than avaricious, desirous of enriching themselves to the detriment of the Americans, kept them continually employed, and made use of them as slaves; and in order to avoid the reproaches which were made them by the bishops and missionaries, who inculcated humanity, and the giving liberty to those people, to get themselves instructed in religion, that they might do their duties towards the church and their families, alleged, that the Indians were by nature slaves, and incapable of being instructed; and many other falsehoods of which the Chronicler Herrera makes mention against them. Those zealous ecclesiastics being unable, either by their authority or preaching, to free those unhappy converts from the tyranny of such misers, had recourse to the Catholic kings; and at last obtained from their justice and clemency those laws, as favourable to the Americans as honourable to the court of Spain, that compose the Indian code, which were chiefly due to the indefatigable zeal of the bishop de las Casas. On another side, Garces, bishop of Tlascala, knowing that those Spaniards bore, notwithstanding their perversity, a great respect to the decisions of the vicar of Jesus Christ, made application in the year 1586, to pope Paul III, by that famous letter, of which we have made mention; representing to him the evils which the Indians suffered from the wicked Christians, and praying him to interpose his authority in their behalf. The pope, moved by such heavy remonstrances, dispatched the next year the original bull, a faithful copy of which we have here subjoined (*t*), which was

(*t*) Paulus papa III. universis Christi Fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem—“Veritas ipsa, quæ nec falli, nec fallere potest, cum prædicatores fidei ad officium prædicationis destinaret, dixisse dignoscitur: *Euntes docete omnes gentes*: omnes dixit absque omni delectu, cum omnes Fidei disciplina capaces existant. Quod videns et invidens ipsius humani generis æmules, qui bonis operibus, ut pereant, semper adversatur, modum excogitavit hæcenus inauditum, quo impediret, ne Verbum Dei Gentibus, ut salvæ fierent, prædicaretur: ut quosdam suos satellites commovit, qui suam cupiditatem adimplere cupientes. Occidentales et Meridionales Indos, et alias Gentes, quæ temporibus istis ad nostram notitiam pervenerunt, sub prætextu quod Fidei Catholicæ expertes existant, uti bruta animalia, ad nostra obsequia redigendos esse, passim asserere præsumant, et eos in servitutem redigunt tantis afflictionibus illos urgentes, quantis vix bruta animalia illis servientia urgeant. Nos igitur, qui ejusdem Domini nostri vices, licet indigni, gerimus in terris, et Oves gregis sui nobis commissas, quæ extra ejus Ovile sunt, ad ipsum Ovile toto nixu exquirimus, attendentes Indos ipsos, utpote veros homines, non solum Christianæ Fidei capaces existere sed, ut nobis innotuit, ad Fidem ipsam promptissime currere, ac volentes super his congruis remediis providere, prædictos Indos et omnes alias gentes ad notitiam Christianorum in poste-

not made, as is manifest, to declare the Americans free men; for such a piece of weakness was very distant from that or any other pope: but solely to support the natural rights of the Americans against the attempts of their oppressors, and to condemn the injustice and inhumanity of those, who, under the pretence of supposing those people idolatrous, or incapable of being instructed, took from them their property and their liberty, and treated them as slaves and beasts. The Spaniards, indeed, would have been more pitiable than the rudest savages of the new world, if they had waited for a decision from Rome before they would acknowledge the Americans to be true men. It is well known, that long before the pope dispatched that bull, the Catholic kings had earnestly recommended the instruction of the Americans, had given the most careful orders that they should be well treated, and that no wrong should be offered either to their property or their persons; and had sent several bishops to the new world, and some hundreds of missionaries at the royal expence, to teach those satyrs the faith of Jesus Christ, and train them in the Christian mode of life. In 1531, six years before that bull was out, the French missionaries alone had baptized in Mexico more than a million of those satyrs; and in 1534, the seminary of the Holy Cross was founded in Tlatelolco, for the instruction of a considerable number of those large apes, where they learned the Latin language, Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Medicine. If at first the Americans were esteemed satyrs, no body can better prove it than Christopher Columbus their discoverer. Let us hear, therefore, how that celebrated admiral speaks, in his account to the Catholic king Ferdinand, and Isabella, of the first satyrs he saw in the island of Haiti, or Hispaniola. "I swear," he says, "to your majesties, that there is not a better people in the world than these, more affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours as themselves; their language is the sweetest, the softest, and the most

rum deventuras, licet extra fidem Christi existant, sua libertate et dominio hujusmodi uti, et potiri, et gaudere libere et licite posse, nec in servitatem redigi debere, ac quicquid secus fieri contigerit irritum et inane, ipsosque Indos, et alias Gentes Verbi Dei prædicatione, et exemplo bonæ vitæ ad dictam Fidem Christi invitandos fore. Auctoritate Apostolica per præsentem literas decernimus et declaramus, non obstantibus præmissis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.—Datum Romæ anno 1537. IV. Non. Jun. Pontificatus aostri anno III. Questa è non altra è quella famosa boila, per la quale s'è fatto un sì grande schiamazzo.

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“cheerful; for they always speak smiling; and although they go
 “naked, let your majesties believe me, their customs are very be-
 “coming; and their king, who is served with great majesty, has
 “such engaging manners, that it gives great pleasure to see him, and
 “also to consider the great retentive faculty of that people, and their
 “desire of knowledge, which incites them to ask the causes and the
 “effects of things (*u*).” As M. de Paw employed ten continued years
 to search into the affairs of America, he ought to have known, that
 in the countries of the new world subjected to the Spaniards, no other
 bishopricks are founded there than those which the Catholic king has
 constituted. To him belong, from the patronage given him over
 American churches by pope Julius II. in 1508, the foundation of bi-
 shopricks, and the presentation of bishops. To affirm, therefore, that
 Paul III. would acknowledge the Americans to be true men, in order
 to found bishopricks in the richest countries of the new world, is but
 the calumny of an enemy of the Roman church; for if he was not
 blinded by enmity, he would rather have perceived the zeal and hu-
 manity which the pope displays in that bull.

Dr. Robertson, who in a great measure adopts the extravagant
 notions of M. de Paw, speaks thus of the Americans, in the VIIIth
 book of his History of America. “Some missionaries, astonished
 “equally at their slowness of comprehension, and at their insensibility,
 “pronounced them a race of men so brutish, as to be incapable of un-
 “derstanding the first principles of religion.” But what missionaries
 these were, and how much their judgement is to be trusted, can be
 understood from no body better than Garces, in the above-men-
 tioned letter to pope Paul III. Let the passage which we have here
 subjoined be read (*x*). It will appear from it, that the reasons of such

(*u*) Cap. xxxii. of the History of Chr. Columbus, written by his son.

(*x*) Quis tam impudenti animo ac perfricata fronte incapaces fidei asserere audeat, quos mechanicarum artium capacissimos intuemur, ac quos etiam ad ministerium nostrum redactos bonæ indolis, fidelis, et solertes experimur? Et si quando, Beatissime Pater, Tua Sanctitas aliquem religiosum virum in hanc declinare sententiam audierit, etsi eximia integritate vitæ, vel dignitate fulgere videatur is, non ideo quicquam illi hac in re præstet auctoritatis, sed eundem parum aut nihil insudasse in illorum conversione certo certius arbitretur, ac in eorum addiscenda lingua, aut investigandis ingeniis parum studuisse perpendat: nam qui in his caritate christiana laborarunt, non frustra in eos jactare retia caritatis affirmant; illi vero qui solitudini dediti, aut ignavia præpediti neminem ad Christi culturam sua industria reduxerunt, ne in-

an error, were the ignorance and sloth of those missionaries; and we add, the false ideas they had imbibed from their infancy. Las Casas, Acosta, and other grave writers on America, say the same thing as Garces.

“ A council held at Lima,” continues Dr. Robertson, “ decreed, “ that on account of this incapacity they ought to be excluded from “ the sacrament of the Eucharist. And though Paul III. by his famous bull, issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of Christians; yet, after the lapse “ of two centuries, during which they have been members of the “ church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very “ few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment, as to be deemed “ worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. . . . Even after “ the most careful instruction, their faith is considered feeble and dubious, and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their frailty is so much suspected that no Indian is ever ordained a priest, or received into any religious order.” In a few words, here are four errors at least. 1. That a council of Lima had excluded the Indians from the sacrament of the Eucharist, on account of their imbecility of mind. 2. That Paul III. declared the Indians rational creatures. 3. That very few Indians possess such a portion of spiritual discernment as to be judged worthy to approach to the sacred table. 4. That no Indian is ever ordained a priest.

With respect to the first, it is true, that in an assembly held at Lima in the year 1552, which was called *Primum concilium Limæ*, though it was not a council, nor had ever any authority of a council, it was ordained that the Eucharist should not be administered to the Indians until they were perfectly instructed and persuaded in things of faith; because that sacrament is the food of the perfect, but not because they

culpari possint quod inutiles fuerint, quod propriæ negligentiae vitium est, id Infidelium imbecillitati adscribunt, veramque suam desidiam falsæ incapacitatis impositione defendunt, ac non minorem culpam in excusatione committunt, quam erat illa, a qua liberari conantur. Lædit namque summe istud hominum genus talia afferentium hanc Indorum miseriam turbam: nam aliquos religiosos viros retrahunt, ne ad eosdem in fide instruendos proficiscantur: quamobrem nonnulli Hispanorum qui ad illos debellandos accedunt, horum freti iudicio illos negligere, perdere, ac mactare opinari solent non esse flagitium. *Ex litteris Juliani Garces Ep. Tlas. ad Paulum III. Pont. Max.*

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were esteemed weak of understanding. This is clear from the first provincial council, vulgarly called the second, held in Lima in the year 1567, which ordered priests to administer such sacrament to all the Indians who found themselves disposed for it (*y*). But notwithstanding that order to make those ecclesiastics comply, of which Acosta justly complained, the second council of Lima, held in 1583, at which S. Toribio Mogrobejo presided, endeavoured to remedy those disorders by the decrees which we here subjoin (*z*), from which it is to be seen, that they for the same reasons equally denied the eucharist to the Indians and to the Moors, who were slaves brought from Africa: that the true reasons for denying it were, in the judgement of the council, the negligence or sloth, and the indiscreet and misapplied zeal of those ecclesiastics, and that the council found itself obliged to put a remedy to so great a disorder by new decrees and severe punishments. We know well also, that those respectable decrees were not exactly executed, and it became necessary for the diocesan synod of Lima, Plata, Paz, Arequipa and Paraguay, to inculcate them afresh;

(*y*) Quamquam omnes Christiani adulti utriusque sexus teneantur Santissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum accipere singulis annis saltem in Paschate, hujus tamen Provinciæ Antistites cum animadverterent gentem hanc Indorum et recentem esse et infantilem in fide, atque id illorum saluti expedire judicarent, statuerunt ut usque dum fidem perfecte tenent, hoc divino sacramento, quod est perfectorum cibus, non communicarentur, excepto si quis ei percipiendo satis idoneus videretur. . . . Placuit huic Sanctæ Synodo monere, prout serio monet, omnes Indorum Parochos, ut quos audita jam confessione perspexerint, huic cœlestem cibum a reliquo corporali discernere, atque eum edem devote cupere et poscere, quoniam sine causa neminem divino alimento privare possumus, quo tempore cæteris Christianis solent, Indis omnibus administrant. Conc. Lim. I. vulgo II. cap. 58.

(*z*) Cœleste viaticum, quod nulli ex hac vita migranti negat Mater Ecclesia, multis abhinc annis Indis atque Æthiopibus, cæterisque personis miserabilibus præberi debere Concilium Limense constituit. Sed tamen Sacerdotum plurium vel negligentia, vel zelo quodam præpostero atque intempestivo illis nihilo magis hodie præbetur. Quo fit, ut imbeciles animæ tanto bono, tamque necessario priventur. Volens igitur Sancta Synodus ad executionem perducere, quæ Christo duce ad salutem Indorum ordinata sunt, severe præcipit omnibus parochis, ut extreme laborantibus Indis atque Æthiopibus viaticum ministrare non prætermittant, dummodo in eis debitam dispositionem adnoscant, nempe fidem in Christum, et pœnitentiam in Deum suo modo. . . . Porro parochos qui a prima hujus decreti promulgatione negligentem fuerint, noverint se, præter divinæ ultionis judicium, etiam pœnas Arbitrio Ordinariorum, in quo conscientia onerantur, duros: atque in Visitationibus in illos de hujus statuti observatione specialiter inquirendum. Conc. Lim. II. vulgo III. Act. 2. cap. 19.

In Paschate saltem Eucharistiam ministrare parochus non prætermittat iis, quos et satis instructos, et correctione vitæ idoneos judicaverit: ne et ipse alioqui ecclesiastici præcepti violati reus sit. Ibid. cap. 20.

but that demonstrates the obstinacy of the ecclesiastics, not the want of capacity in the Americans.

With respect to the bull of Paul III. we have already shown that it was not intended to declare the Americans men, but, on account of their right to all the privileges of men, to condemn their oppressors.

In regard to the third error of Dr. Robertson which we have mentioned above, omitting at present what belongs to other countries of America as it is not necessary here; it is certain and notorious, that in all New Spain the Indians are obliged as much as the Spaniards to receive the Eucharist at Easter, except those of remote countries, who are admitted or not to the sacred table according to the judgment of the missionaries. In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are, says Robertson, at least two millions of Indians (*a*). We are confident that this number is much inferior to the truth; but be it so and no more. The Indians, therefore, are not very few in number who possess so great a portion of spiritual discernment as to be judged worthy of approaching to the sacred table, unless two millions appear very few to him, or he thinks those bishops and priests rash, who not only admit but even oblige those Indians to communicate. But when we add to those the Indians of many provinces of South America who are equally obliged to receive the sacred Eucharist, the number will be greatly increased.

His fourth error, in which he affirms that no Indian is ever ordained priest, is not less gross. It is subject of wonder, that a writer who collected so great a library of writers on America, and for whom so many accounts of the things of the New World were obtained from Madrid, should have been so ill informed on this as well as on other points. Dr. Robertson will please to know, therefore, that although the first provincial council held in Mexico in the year 1555 forbade that the Indians should be ordained, not on account of their incapacity, but because it was thought the lowness of their condition might draw some discredit on the ecclesiastical state, nevertheless the third provincial council, held in 1585, which was the most celebrated of all, and whose decisions are still in force, permitted them to be ordained priests, provided there was great care taken in admit-

(*a*) History of America, Book viii.

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ting them into sacred orders. But it is necessary to observe, that the decrees of each council comprehend equally, and under the same conditions, both the Indians and Mulattoes that are there, who are born or descended of a European father and an African mother, or on the contrary; and nobody, we believe, doubts of the talents and capacity of the Mulattoes to learn all the sciences. Torquemada, who wrote his history in the first years of the last century, says, that they did not use to admit the Indians into religious orders, nor to ordain them priests, on account of their violent inclination to drinking; but he himself attests (*d*) that in his time Indian priests were extremely sober and exemplary: so that it is at least a hundred and seventy years ago since the Indians began to be made priests. From that unto the present time the American priests have been so numerous in New Spain, that they might be counted by hundreds: among those there have been many hundreds of rectors, several canons and doctors, and as report goes, even a very learned bishop. At present there are many priests, and not a few rectors, among whom have been three or four our own pupils. If in a point of this nature such gross errors have been committed by Dr. Robertson, what may we not apprehend from him in others which cannot so easily be cleared up and certified to an author, who writes at so great a distance from those countries without ever having seen them?

We have had intimate commerce with the Americans, have lived for some years in a seminary destined for their instruction, saw the erection and progress of the royal college of Guadaloupe, founded in Mexico, by a Mexican Jesuit, for the education of Indian children, had afterwards some Indians amongst our pupils, had particular knowledge of many American rectors, many nobles, and numerous artists; attentively observed their character, their genius, their disposition, and manner of thinking; and have examined besides with the utmost diligence their ancient history, their religion, their government, their laws, and their customs. After such long experience and study of them, from which we imagine ourselves enabled to decide without danger of erring, we declare to M. de Paw, and to all Europe, that the mental qualities of the Americans are not the least inferior to those

(*d*) Torquemada, lib. xvii. cap. 13.

of the Europeans, that they are capable of all, even the most abstract sciences, and that if equal care was taken of their education, if they were brought up from childhood in seminaries under good masters, were protected and stimulated by rewards, we should see rise among the Americans, philosophers, mathematicians, and divines who would rival the first in Europe. But it is a little difficult, not to say impossible, to make great progress in the sciences, in the midst of a life of misery, servitude, and oppression. Whoever contemplates the present state of Greece will not be apt to believe that those great men flourished there whom history records, were we not convinced of it by their immortal works, and the voice of all ages. But the obstacles which the people of Greece have to surmount before they can become learned are not comparable to those which the Americans always had, and still have to overcome. Nevertheless, we wish M. de Paw, and some other persons who think as he does, could be present without being observed in those assemblies or councils which are held by the Americans on certain days to deliberate on public affairs, that they might hear how those satyrs of the new world discourse and harangue.

Lastly, The whole ancient history of the Mexicans and Peruvians evinces to us, that they knew how to think and order their ideas, that they are susceptible of all the passions and impressions of humanity, and that the Europeans have had no other advantage over them than that of having been better instructed. The civil government of the ancient Americans, their laws, and their arts evidently demonstrate they suffered no want of genius. Their wars show us that their souls are not insensible to the excitements of love, as count de Buffon and M. de Paw think; since they sometimes took up arms in his cause.

In regard to their courage, we have explained, when we spoke of their character, what we have observed in the present, and what we judge of the ancient Americans on this head. But as M. de Paw alleges the conquest of Mexico as a convincing proof of their cowardice, it may be proper to enlighten his ignorance, or rather to strengthen his little faith.

“Cortes,” he says, “conquered the empire of Mexico with four hundred and fifty vagabonds and fifteen horses, badly armed;

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“ his miserable artillery consisted of six falconets, which would not
 “ at the present day be capable of exciting the fears of a fortress de-
 “ fended by invalids. During his absence the capital was held in awe
 “ by the half of his troops. What men ! what events !”

“ It is confirmed,” he adds, “ by the depositions of all historians
 “ that the Spaniards entered the first time into Mexico without mak-
 “ ing one single discharge of their artillery. If the title of hero is
 “ applicable to him who has the disgrace to occasion the death of a
 “ great number of rational animals, Ferdinand Cortes might pretend
 “ to it ; otherwise I do not see what true glory he has acquired by the
 “ overthrow of a tottering monarchy, which might have been destroyed
 “ in the same manner by any other assassin of our continent.” Those
 passages of the *Philosophic Recherches* detect that M. de Paw was igno-
 rant of the history of the conquest of Mexico, or that he suppresses
 what would openly contradict his system ; since all who have read
 that history know well, that the conquest of Mexico was not made with
 four hundred and fifty men, but with more than two hundred thou-
 sand. Cortes himself, to whom it was of more importance than to
 M. de Paw to make his bravery conspicuous, and his conquest appear
 glorious, confesses the excessive number of the allies who were under
 his command at the siege of the capital, and combated with more
 fury against the Mexicans than the Spaniards themselves. Accord-
 ing to the account which Cortes gave to the emperor Charles
 V. the siege of Mexico began with eighty-seven horses, eight hun-
 dred and forty-eight Spanish infantry, armed with guns, cross-bows,
 swords, and lances, and upwards of seventy-five thousand allies,
 of Tlascala, Hnexitzinco, Cholula, and Chalco, equipped with va-
 rious sorts of arms ; with three large pieces of cannon of iron, fif-
 teen small of copper, and thirteen brigantines. In the course of the
 siege were assembled the numerous nations of the Otomics, the Co-
 huixcas, and Matlazinecas, and the troops of the populous cities of the
 lakes ; so that the army of the besiegers not only exceeded two hun-
 dred thousand but amounted to four millions, according to the letter
 from Cortes ; and besides these, three thousand boats and canoes,
 came to their assistance. We therefore ask M. de Paw if it appears to
 him to have been cowardice to have sustained, for full seventy-five days,

the siege of an open city, engaging daily with an army so large, and in part provided with arms so superior, and at the same time having to withstand the ravages of famine? Can they merit the charge of cowardice, who, after having lost seven of the eight parts of their city, and about fifty thousand citizens, part cut off by the sword, part by famine and sickness, continued to defend themselves until they were furiously assaulted in the last hold which was left them (*p*).

“It is certain,” says M. de Paw, “by the depositions of all historians, that the Spaniards entered the first time into Mexico without making a single discharge of their artillery.” If this argument is peculiar to the logic of M. de Paw; if the Mexicans were cowards because the Spaniards entered into Mexico without a single discharge of their artillery, it might as well be said that the Prussians are cowards because the ambassadors of several courts of Europe enter into Berlin without discharging even a fusil. Who does not know that the Spaniards were admitted into that city as the ambassadors of the monarch of the East? Historians all recount this as well as Cortes himself, who feigned himself the ambassador of the Catholic king. If the Mexicans had been willing to oppose him then as they did the second time, how would the Spaniards have been able to enter with only six thousand men, when their second entry was so difficult with two hundred thousand (*q*)?

With respect to what M. de Paw adds against Cortes, we do not mean to make the apology of this conqueror, neither can we endure the panegyric which Solis has written in place of a history; but as an impartial person, well informed of all his military actions, we must confess, that in courage, constancy, and military prudence, he rivals the most famous generals; and that he possessed that species of heroism which we acknowledge in Alexander and the Cæsars, in

(*p*) All that we have here said respecting the siege and conquest of Mexico is taken from the letter of the conqueror Cortes to Charles V.

(*q*) “It is not less certain,” says Acosta, “that it was the aid of the Tascalans which obtained to Cortes his victories, and the conquest of Mexico; and without them it would have been impossible to have made himself master of that place, or to have continued longer there. Those who make little of the Indians, and think the Spaniards could have conquered any country or nation by the superiority of their arms, valour, and horses, are grossly deceived.”

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whom we praise their magnanimity in spite of the vices with which it was blended.

The cause of the rapidity with which the Spaniards conquered America has been partly mentioned by M. de Paw: "I confess," he says, "that the artillery was a destructive and all-powerful engine, which necessarily subdued the Mexicans." If to the artillery we add the other superior arms, horses, and discipline on the part of the conquerors, and the divisions which prevailed among the conquered, it will be seen that there is no reason to charge the Americans with pusillanimity, or to wonder at the violent convulsion of the new world. Let M. de Paw imagine, that at the time of the noisy and cruel factions of Sylla and Marius the Athenians had invented artillery and other fire arms, and equipped only six thousand men with them, joining themselves not to the army of Marius, but only to some part of his troops, and undertaken the conquest of Italy; does not M. de Paw think that they would have succeeded in spite of all the power of Sylla, the courage and discipline of the Roman troops, their numerous legions and cavalry, the multitude of their armies, their machines and the fortifications of their city? What terror would the horrid sound of the artillery, and the destructive violence of the balls, not have struck to the minds of the boldest centurions, when they saw whole ranks of men carried off by them? What then must the effect have been on those nations of the new world who had no arms nor cavalry, no discipline, machines, or fortifications like the Romans? That, on the contrary, which is truly to be wondered at, is, that the brave Spaniards, with all their discipline, artillery, and arms, have not been able, in two centuries, to subdue the *Araucan* warriors of South America, though armed only with clubs and lances, nor the *Apaches* in North America, armed with bows and arrows; and above all, what appears incredible, but is notwithstanding certain, five hundred men of the nation of the *Seris* have for many years been the scourge of the Spaniards of Sonora and Cinaloa.

Lastly, omitting many other absurd opinions of M. de Paw against the Americans, we shall only now take notice of the injury which he does them of the grossest kind in regard to their customs. There are four principal vices with which he charges the Americans, gluttony, drunkenness, ingratitude, and pederasty.

We never heard of the Americans being reproached with gluttony until we met with that passage in Mr. Condamine, cited and adopted by M. de Paw. We have found no author, who was the least instructed in the affairs of America, who did not praise the temperance of the Americans in eating. Whoever pleases may on this point consult Las Casas, Garces, the anonymous conqueror, Oviedo, Gomara, Acosta, Herrera, Torquemada, Betancourt, &c. All historians mention the wonder of the Spaniards at the temperance of the Indians; and on the contrary, the wonder of the Indians to see the Spaniards eat more in one day than they did in a week. In short, the sobriety of the Americans is so notorious, that to defend them on this subject would be superfluous. Mr. Condamine perhaps saw in his travels on the river Maragnon, some famished Indians eat very greedily, and from them was persuaded, as happens often to travellers, that all the Americans were gluttons. It is certain that Ulloa, who was in America with Mr. Condamine, remained there a longer time, and got more knowledge of the customs of the Indians, speaks of them in a manner quite contrary to that French mathematician.

Drunkenness is the prevailing vice of those nations. We confess it sincerely in the first book of this history, explain its effects, and point out the cause of it; but we add also, that it did not prevail in the country of Anahuac before the Spaniards came there, on account of the great severity with which that vice was punished, though in the greater part of the countries of the old continent it is still incorrupted, and serves as an excuse for more heinous crimes. It is certain, from the inquiries made by authors into the civil government of the Mexicans, that there were several laws against drunkenness in Mexico as well as in Tezeuco, Tlascalá, and other states, which we have seen represented in their ancient paintings. The sixty-third painting of the collection made by Mendoza represents two youths of both sexes condemned to death for having intoxicated themselves, and at the same time an old man of seventy, whom the laws permit, on account of his age, to drink as much as he pleases. There are few states in the world whose sovereigns have shown greater zeal to prevent excesses of this kind.

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In the above-mentioned book also we have reported the common error respecting the gratitude of the Indians: but as what was said there will not be sufficient to convince those who are prepossessed against them, we shall here relate an instance of gratitude which will of itself be enough to dissipate this prejudice. In the year 1556 died, in Uruapa, a considerable place of the kingdom of Michuacan, on a visit to his diocese at the age of ninety-five, Vasco de Quiroga, founder and first bishop of that church, who, after the example of St. Ambrose, was translated from the secular jurisdiction to the episcopal dignity. This celebrated prelate, worthy of comparison with the first fathers of Christianity, laboured indefatigably in favour of the people of Michuacan, instructing them as an apostle, and loving them as a father; he erected temples, founded hospitals, and assigned to each settlement of the Indians a branch of commerce, that the mutual dependence upon each other might keep them in stronger bonds of union, perfect the arts, and provide a manner of life for every one. The memory of such benefits is, after more than two ages, preserved as fresh in the minds of the Americans, as if their benefactor was yet living. The first care of the Indian women, as soon as their children begin to have any judgment, is to give them an account of their *Tata Don Vasco*: for so they still call him on account of the pious respect they bear to his memory. They communicate a knowledge of him by means of pictures of him, explaining all that he did in favour of their nation, and never pass before his image without kneeling. This prelate also founded, in 1540, a seminary in the city of Pazcuaro for the instruction of youth; and enjoined the Indians of *Santa Fe*, a place settled by him on the bank of the lake *Pazcuaro*, to send every week a man to serve in the seminary. He was obeyed, and for two hundred and thirty years past an Indian has never been wanted to attend upon the seminary without any necessity to force or even call them, from their zeal to make a return by such service for the benefits which that worthy prelate conferred on them. They preserve his bones with such veneration in the city of Pazcuaro, that once, as the chapter of the cathedral of Valladolid attempted to transport them there, the Indians became uneasy, and prepared to oppose it by force of arms, which they would have certainly done had not the chapter,

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in order to prevent any such disorder, abandoned their resolution. Can there be imagined a more conclusive proof of the gratitude of a nation? Similar demonstrations of the same disposition have been given by the Indians in many places of the kingdom, where they wished to retain the missionaries who had instructed them in their faith. These instances, which happened in the two last centuries, may be learned from the third volume of Torquemada, and the Mexican Theatre of Betancourt. Of those which have occurred in our own times there are many living witnesses; and we can testify some ourselves. If the Americans ever show themselves ungrateful to their patrons, it is because the continual experience of evils from them renders even their benefits suspicious: but whenever they are convinced of the sincere benevolence of their benefactors, they are capable of making a sacrifice of all their possessions to gratitude. All who have seen and observed with impartiality the manners of the Americans confirm this character.

But of all the remarks made by M. de Paw against the Americans, nothing has been more injurious than his affirmation that pederasty was much a vice in the islands, in Peru, in Mexico, and in all the new continent. We cannot conceive how M. de Paw, after having vented so horrid a calumny, had confidence to say in his reply to Don Pernety, that all his work of *Philosophical Researches* breathes humanity. Can it be humanity unjustly to defame all the nations of the new world with a vice so opprobrious to nature? Is it humanity to be enraged against the Inca Garcilasso because he defends the Peruvians from such a charge? Although those were respected authors who ascribed this crime to all the people of America, there being many respected authors who say the contrary, M. de Paw, according to the laws of humanity, ought to have abstained from so gross an accusation. But how much more ought he to have avoided it when there is not any writer of authority on whose testimony he can support so universal an assertion. He may find some authors, as the anonymous conqueror, Gomara, and Herrera, who have accused some Americans of such a vice, or at most some people of America; but he will find no historian of credit who has dared to say that pederasty was much a vice in the *islands*, in *Peru*, in *Mexico*, and in all the new continent. On

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the contrary, all the historians of Mexico say unanimously, that such a vice was held in abomination by those nations, and make mention of the severe punishments prescribed by the laws against it, as appears from the works of Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, Betancourt, and others. Las Casas, in his memorial to Charles V. presented in 1542, attests, that having made a diligent inquiry in the Spanish islands, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, he found there was no memory of such a vice among those nations. The same thing he affirms of Peru, Yucatan, and all the countries of America in general; in some one place or other, he says, there may be some addicted to that crime; but he adds, the whole new world, however, must not be taxed with that vice. Who then has authorised M. de Paw to defame, in a point so injurious, the whole of the new world? Although the Americans were, as he believes, men without honour, and without shame, the laws of humanity forbid him to calumniate them. Such is the excess into which his ridiculous eagerness to depreciate America leads him, and such are the consequences of his unnatural logic, that he constantly deduces from particular premises universal conclusions! If possibly the Panueliese, or any other people of America, were infected with that vice, is it from thence to be affirmed that pederasty was much a vice in all the new world? The Americans might as well defame in the same manner the whole old continent, because among some ancient people of Asia and among the Greeks and Romans it was a notorious vice. Besides, it is not known that there is any nation at present in America infected with that vice; whereas we are informed by several authors, that some people of Asia are still tainted with it; and that even in Europe, if what Mr. Locke and M. de Paw say is true, among Turks of a certain profession, another vice more execrable, of the same kind, is common; and that instead of being severely punished for it, they are held, by that nation, in the light of saints, and receive the highest marks of respect and veneration.

Amongst the crimes charged to the Americans by M. de Paw suicide is included. It is true that at the time of the conquest many hanged themselves, or threw themselves down precipices, or put an end to themselves by abstinence; but it is not the least wonderful that men who had become desperate from continual harassment and vexa-

tions, who thought their gods had abandoned, and the elements conspired against them, should do that which was frequent with the Romans, the Franks, and ancient Spaniards, the modern English (*x*), French, and Japanese, for a slight motive; for some false idea of honour, or some caprice of passion? Who could persuade himself that a European would reproach the Americans with suicide in an age in which it is become a daily event in England and France (*y*), where the just ideas we have from nature and her religion, are banished from the mind, and arguments invented, and books published, to vindicate it? So great is the rage for defaming America and the Americans.

A similar passion seems to have affected that Spaniard who formed the general Index of the Decads of Herrera, inconsiderately imputing to all the Americans what Herrera says in his work of some individuals, with various exceptions. We copy here what we have read in that Index. "The Indians," he says, "are very slothful, very full of vices, great drunkards, by nature lazy, weak, lyars, cheats, fickle, inconstant, have much levity, cowardly, nasty, mutinous, thievish, ungrateful, inexorable, more vindictive than any other nation, of so low a nature, &c. that it is doubtful if they are rational creatures; barbarous, bestial, and led like the brutes by their appetites." This is the language of M. de Paw, and other most humane Europeans; so it appears they do not think themselves obliged to believe the truth with regard to the people of the new world, nor observe the laws of fraternal charity, published by the son of their own God in the old world.

But it would be easy for any American of moderate genius, and some erudition, who was desirous of retaliating upon those authors, to compose a work with this title, Philosophical Inquiries concerning the Inhabitants of the Old Continent. In imitation of the method pursued by M. de Paw, he would collect whatever had been written of the barren countries of the old world, of inaccessible mountains, of marshy plains, of impenetrable woods, of sandy deserts, and malignant climes; of disgustful and noxious reptiles and insects, of serpents, of toads,

(*x*) We have been informed by a person who was at the same time in London, that a suicide left in writing, that he killed himself to get free of the trouble of dressing and undressing himself every day.

(*y*) We know in one of these last years, there have been one hundred and fifty suicides committed in the city of Paris alone.

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of scorpions, of ants, of frogs, of scolopendras, of beetles, of bugs and lice; of quadrupeds, irregular, small, without tails, imperfect and pusillanimous; of people, degenerated, ill-coloured, irregular in stature, deformed in shape, of bad constitutions, dastardly minds, dull genius, and cruel dispositions. When he came to the article of vices, what abundance of materials would be ready for his work! What examples of baseness, perfidy, cruelty, superstition, and debauchery! what excesses in every kind of vice! The history of the Romans alone, the most celebrated nation of the ancient world, would furnish him with an incredible quantity of the most horrid depravities. He would be sensible, that such defects and vices were not common to all the countries, nor all the inhabitants of the ancient continent; but that would not signify, as he must follow his model in M. de Paw, and make application of his logic. This work would, unquestionably, be more valuable, and more worthy of faith than that of M. de Paw; for as this philosopher does not cite against America and the Americans any but European authors, that American writer, on the contrary, would, in his curious work, refer to, and quote only the authors of the same continent against which he wrote.

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Of the Culture of the Mexicans.

M. de Paw, perpetually incensed against the new world, terms all the Americans barbarians and savages, and esteems them inferior in industry and sagacity to the coarsest and rudest nations of the old continent. If he had confined himself to say, that the American nations were in great part uncultivated, barbarous, and beastly in their customs,—as many of the most cultivated nations of Europe were formerly, and as several people of Asia, Africa, and even Europe are at present;—that the most civilised nations of America were greatly less polished than the greater part of the European nations; that their arts were not nearly perfected, nor their laws so good or so well framed; and that their sacrifices were inhuman, and some of their customs extravagant, we would not have reason to contradict him. But not to distinguish between the Mexicans and Peruvians, and the Caribs and Iroquese, to allow them no merit or virtues, to undervalue their arts, and to depreciate their laws, and place those industrious nations below the coarsest nations of the old continent, is obstinate persistence in an endeavour to revile the new world and its inhabitants, instead of pursuing, according to the title of his book, the investigation of truth.

We call those men barbarous and savage, who, led more by caprice and natural will than guided by reason, neither live in society, nor have laws for their government, judges to determine their differences, superiors to watch over their conduct, nor exercise the arts which are necessary to supply the wants, and remedy the miseries of life; those, in short, who have no idea of the Divinity, or at least have not established any worship by which they acknowledge him. The Mexicans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, as well as the Peruvians, confessed a supreme omnipotent Being, although their belief

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was like that of other idolatrous people, mixed with errors and superstition. They had priests, temples, sacrifices, and established rites, for the uniform worship of the Divinity. They had a king, governors, and magistrates; they had numerous cities, and a most extensive population, as we shall make appear hereafter. They had laws and customs, the observance of which was attended to by their magistrates and governors. They had commerce, and took infinite care to enforce justice and equity in contracts. Their lands were distributed, and every individual was secured in the property and possession of his soil. They exercised agriculture and other arts; not only those necessary to life, but also those which contributed to luxury and pleasure alone. What more is necessary, to defend nations from the imputation of being barbarous and savage? — Money, says M. de Paw, the use of iron, the art of writing, and those of building ships, constructing bridges of stone, and making lime. Their arts were imperfect and rude; their language extremely scarce of numeral terms and words fit to express universal ideas; and their laws must be reckoned none,—for laws cannot be, where anarchy and despotism reign.

S E C T. I.

Of the Want of Money.

M. de Paw decides that no nation of America was cultivated or civilized, because no one made use of money; and to support this assertion he quotes a passage from Montesquieu: “Aristippus,” says this politician (a), “having been shipwrecked, made by swimming to the “neighbouring shore: he saw upon the sand some figures of geometry “drawn, and became full of joy, being persuaded that he was thrown “among a Greek people, and not any barbarous nation. Imagine to your- “self that by some accident you are placed in an unknown country; if “you find any money there, do not doubt that you are arrived among “a polished people.” But if Montesquieu justly infers the civilization of a country from the use of money, M. de Paw does not well

(a) *Esprit des Loix*, liv. xviii. chap. 13.

deduce the want of civilization from the deficiency of money. If we are to understand by money, a piece of metal, with the stamp of the prince, or the public, it is certain that the want of it in a nation is no token of barbarity. "The Athenians," says the same author, Montesquieu, "because they had no use of the metals, employed oxen for money, as the Romans did sheep;" and from thence took its origin, as we all know, the word *pecunia*; as the Romans put the stamp of a sheep on the first money they coined, which they employed afterwards in their contracts. The Greeks were certainly a very cultivated nation in the times of Homer, since it was impossible that in the midst of an uncultivated nation a man should spring up capable of composing the Iliad and the Odyssey, those two immortal poems, which, after twenty-seven centuries, are still admired, but have never been equalled. The Greeks, however, at this period, did not know the use of coined money, as appears from the works of that renowned poet, who, whenever he means to signify the value of any thing, expresses it no otherwise than by the number of oxen or sheep which it was worth; as in the seventh book of the Iliad, where he says that Glaucus gave his arms of gold, which were worth an hundred oxen, for those of Diomedes, which were of copper, and not worth more than nine. Whenever he speaks of any purchase by contract, he mentions it no otherwise than by barter or exchange. And therefore in that ancient controversy between the Sabinians and Proculians, two sects of lawyers, the first insisted that a real purchase and sale could be made without a price, supporting this position by certain passages of Homer, where those are said to buy and sell, who only exchange. The Lacedemonians were a civilized nation of Greece, although they did not use money; and among the fundamental laws published by Lycurgus, was that law of not carrying on commerce otherwise than by means of exchange (*b*). The Romans had no coined money until the time of Servius Tullius; nor the Persians until the time of Darius Hystaspes; and yet the nations which preceded these epochs were not called barbarous. The Hebrews were civilized, at least from the time of their judges; but we do not find that stamped money was in use among

(*b*) *Eni singula non pecunia sed compensatione mercium jussit. Justin. lib. iii.*

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them until the time of the Maccabees. The want of coined money, therefore, is no argument of barbarity.

If by money is understood a sign representing the value of all merchandize, as Montesquieu defines it (*c*), it is certain, that the Mexicans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, except the barbarous Chechemecas and Otomies, employed money in their commerce. What was the cacao, of which they made constant use in the market to purchase whatever they wanted, but a sign representing the value of all merchandize? The cacao had its fixed value, and was reckoned by numbers; but to save the trouble of counting it, when the merchandize was of great value, and worth many thousands of the nuts, they knew that every bag of a certain size contained three Xiquipilli, or twenty-four thousand nuts. Who will not acknowledge, that the cacao is much fitter to be made use of as money, than oxen or sheep, which the Greeks and Romans made use of, or the salt which is at present employed by the Abyssinians? The oxen and sheep could not be employed to purchase any thing of small value; and any sickness, or other misfortune, which might befall those animals, would impoverish those who had no other capital. "Metal has been adopted for "money," says Montesquieu, "that the sign may be more durable. "The salt which the Abyssinians use has this defect, that it is continually diminishing." Cacao, on the contrary, could pass for any merchandize, was transportable, and guarded more easily, and preserved with less danger and with less care.

The use of cacao in the commerce of those nations, will appear perhaps, to some persons, a mere exchange: but it was not so; for there were several species of cacao, and the *Tlalcacahuatl*, small cacao, which they used in their diet and beverages, was not used as money: they employed other species of inferior quality, and less useful for food, which were in constant circulation as money (*d*), and used in no other way almost than in commerce. Of this sort of money, all historians of Mexico (Spanish, as well as Indian) make mention. Of the

(*c*) L'Esprit des Loix.

(*d*) In the capital itself of Mexico, where from eighteen to twenty thousand crowns (pesos fuertes) are annually coined in gold and silver, the poor people still make use of the cacao to purchase small articles in the market.

other four species, which we spoke of in our seventh book of this history, Cortes and Torquemada both give an account. Cortes, in his last letter to the emperor Charles V., affirms, that having made inquiries concerning the commerce of those nations, he found that in Tlachco, and other provinces, they trafficked with money. If he had not meant to be understood to speak of coined money, he would not have restricted the use of it to Tlachco, and some other provinces; because he knew very well, without making such inquiries, that at the markets of Mexico, where he had been frequently present, they employed, instead of money, the cacao, and certain little cloths of cotton, called by them *Patolquachtli*, and gold in dust inclosed in goose-quills. It is therefore somewhat suspicious, notwithstanding what we have said in our former book, that there was also coined money among them; and that both those thin pieces of tin which Cortes mentions, and those pieces of Copper in form of T, mentioned by Torquemada as two species of money, had some stamp upon them authorised by the sovereign, or his feudatory lords.

To hinder any frauds in commerce, nothing but common articles of food could be sold out of the market-place, which was kept, as we have already said, in the greatest order that can be imagined. There were measures fixed by the magistrates; the commissaries we mentioned formerly, were continually observing all that happened; and the judges of commerce were charged to take cognisance of all disputes between the merchants, and punish every trespass which was committed; and, notwithstanding, it must be said, that the Mexicans were inferior in industry to the rudest people of the old continent; among whom are some, that, after so many centuries, and the example of other nations of their own continent, do not yet know the advantages of money.

S E C T. II.

On the Use of Iron.

The use of iron is one of those things which M. de Paw requires, to call a nation cultivated; and from the want of it, he believes all the Americans barbarians: so that if God had not created this metal, all

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men must, according to the sentiments of this philosopher, have of necessity remained barbarous. But in the same place of his work where he reproaches the Americans with barbarity, he furnishes us all the arguments we could desire, to refute it. He affirms, that in all the extent of America there are found but few mines of iron, and those so inferior in quality to those of the old continent, that it cannot even be made use of for nails. He tells us, that the Americans were in possession of the secret,—now lost in the old continent,—of giving copper a temper equal to that of steel: that Godin sent, in 1727 (probably 1747, as in 1727 he was not gone to Peru), to the count de Maurepas, an old axe of hard Peruvian copper; and that count Caylus having observed it, he discovered that it equalled the ancient arms of copper in hardness, of which the Greeks and Romans made use, who did not employ iron in many of those works in which we employ it at present; either because then it was more scarce, or because their tempered copper was better in quality than our steel. Lastly, he adds, that the count de Caylus, being surprised at that art, became persuaded that (though in this he is opposed by M. de Paw) it was not the work of the beastly Peruvians whom the Spaniards found there in the times of the conquest, but of some other more ancient and more industrious nation.

From all this, observed by M. de Paw, we draw these four important conclusions: 1. That the Americans had the honour of imitating the two most celebrated nations of the old continent, in the use of copper. 2. That their conduct was wise, in not making use of an iron so bad that it was not even fit for making nails, but by making use of a sort of copper to which they gave the temper of steel. 3. That if they did not know the very common art of working iron, they were in possession of that more singular skill of tempering copper like steel, which the European artists of this enlightened century have not been able to restore. 4. That the count de Caylus was as much deceived in the judgment which he formed of the Peruvians, as M. de Paw has been in his respecting all the Americans. These are the lawful inferences to be drawn from the doctrine of this philosopher, on the use of iron, and not that of want of industry, which he pretends to deduce. We should be glad to know from him, if there is more industry required to work iron as the Europeans do, than to work without iron every sort of

stone and wood, to form several kinds of arms, and to make without iron, as the Americans used to do, the most curious works of gold, of silver, and of gems. The particular use of iron does not prove great industry in the Europeans. Invented by the first men, it passed easily from one to another; and as the modern Americans received it from the Europeans, in the same manner the ancient Europeans had it from the Asiatics. The first peoplers of America certainly knew the use of iron, as the invention of it was cotemporary with the world; but it is probable, that that happened which we have conjectured in our first Dissertation, that is, not having found at first the mines of that metal in the northern countries of America where they had settled themselves, the memory of it was lost to their descendants.

But, finally, if those are barbarians who know not the use of iron, what must they be who know not the use of fire? In all the vast region of America, no nation has been found, nor tribe so rude, which did not know the art of kindling fire, and employing it for the common purposes of life; but in the old world people have been found so barbarous, that they neither used nor had any knowledge of fire. Such have been the inhabitants of the Marian Islands, to whom that element was totally unknown until the Spaniards arrived there, as the historians of those isles attest: yet M. de Paw would persuade us that the American people are more savage than all the savages of the old world.

In other respects, M. de Paw is as wrong in what he says of the iron of America as in what he thinks of the copper. In New Spain, Chili, and many other countries of America, numerous mines of good iron have been discovered, and if it was not prohibited to work them, in prejudice of the commerce of Spain, America could furnish Europe all the necessary iron in the same manner as she supplies it with gold and silver. If M. de Paw had known how to make his inquiries concerning America, he would have learned from the chronieler Herrera, that even in the island of Hispaniola, there is a better iron there than in Biscay. He would have found also from the same author, that in Zacatula, a maritime province of Mexico, there are two sorts of copper; the one hard, which is used instead of iron, to make axes, hatchets, and other instruments of war and agriculture, and the other flexible and more

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common, which they use to make pots, basons, and other vessels, for domestic use; so that they had no occasion for the boasted secret of hardening copper. Our sincerity also compels us to defend in the same manner the true progress of American industry, and to reject those imaginary inventions which are attributed to the new world. The secret of which the Americans were really in possession, is that which we read in Oviedo, an eye witness, and a person skilled and intelligent in metals. "The Indians," he says, "know very well how to gild
" copper vessels, or those of low gold, and to give them so excellent
" and bright a colour, that they appear to be gold of twenty-two
" carats and more: this they do by means of certain herbs. The gild-
" ing is so well executed, that if a goldsmith of Spain or Italy pos-
" sessed the secret he would esteem himself very rich."

SECT. III.

On the Art of building Ships, and Bridges, and of making Lime.

IF other nations deserve the reproach of being ignorant how to build ships, it is certainly not due to the Mexicans; as not having rendered themselves masters of the sea-coasts, until the last years of their monarchy they had no occasion nor convenience for contriving any such structures. The other nations, who occupied the shores of both seas before the Mexicans gained dominion over them, were satisfied with the boats which were in use among them, for fishing, and commerce with the neighbouring provinces; because, being free from ambition and avarice, which have been the first incentives to long navigations, they did not think of usurping the states lawfully possessed by other nations, nor desired to transport from distant countries those precious metals for which they had no demand. The Romans, although they had founded their metropolis near to the sea, remained five hundred years without constructing large vessels (*e*), until the ambition of enlarging

(*e*) Appius used every possible diligence to come to the aid of the Mamertines. In order to accomplish this he thought of passing the strait of Messina, but the enterprise was rash, even dangerous, and according to all prudent appearances impossible. The Romans had no naval armament, but mere barges, or vessels coarsely constructed, which might be compared with the canoes of the Indians. Rollin, Rom. Hist. lib. ii.

their dominions, and making themselves masters of Sicily, prompted them to build ships to pass the strait which divided them from it. What wonder is it then if those nations of America, who felt no such impulses to abandon their native country, did not invent vessels to transport themselves to distant lands? It is certain, that the not having constructed ships does not argue any want of industry in them who had no interest in the invention.

Thus it is with regard to the invention of bridges. M. de Paw affirms, that there was not a single stone bridge in America at the time it was discovered, because the Americans did not know how to form arches; and that the secret of making lime was altogether unknown in America. These three assertions are three very gross errors: The Mexicans did know how to make bridges of stone, and among the remains of their ancient architecture are to be seen at present the large and strong pilasters which supported the bridge which was upon the river Tula. The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezcucuo, and still more their *Temazcalli*, or vapour baths, show us the ancient use of arches and vaults among the Mexicans, and the other nations of Anahuac. Diego Valades, who went to Mexico a few years after the conquest, and remained there thirty years, gives us, in his *Christian Rhetoric*, the image of a small temple which he saw, and therefore leaves no sort of doubt in this matter.

With respect to the use of lime, it requires the forwardness of M. de Paw to be able to affirm, as he does, that the secret of making lime was totally unknown in all America; since it is certain, from the testimony of the Spanish conquerors as well as the first missionaries, that the nations of Mexico not only made use of lime, but that they had the art of whitening and curiously smoothing and polishing the walls of their houses and temples. It appears from the histories of B. Diaz, Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, and others, that the walls of the principal palaces of Mexico appeared to the first Spaniards who entered the city to be made of silver, from their being so finely whitened, and shining with polish. It is certain, lastly, from the paintings of the Tributes which are in Mendoza's collection, that the cities of Tepejacac, Techama-chalco, Quecholac, &c. were obliged to pay annually to the king of Mexico four thousand sacks of lime. But although we had none of these proofs, the remains of ancient edifices, still extant in Tezcucuo,

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In regard to Peru, although Acosta confesses that lime was not in use there, and that its natives neither constructed arches nor bridges of stone; which circumstance proved sufficient for M. de Paw to say, that the use of lime was totally unknown in all America; notwithstanding Acosta, who was no vulgar man, and neither exaggerated nor extenuated facts with respect to the Americans, gives much praise to the wonderful industry of the Peruvians for their bridges of *titora* or reeds at the mouth of the lake of Titicaca, and in other places where the immense depth, or the extraordinary rapidity of the rivers, did not permit them to make bridges of stone, or made the use of boats dangerous. He affirms to have passed such kind of bridges and boats, and also the easiness and security of the passage. M. de Paw takes upon him to say, that the Peruvians did not know the use of boats, that they did not make windows to their houses, and even suspects that their houses had no roofs. These are the absurd speculations in the closet of a writer on America: he makes it very clear, that he does not know any thing of the *bejucos* of the Peruvian bridges, and that he has formed no idea of the rivers of South America.

S E C T. IV.

On the Want of Letters.

NO nation in America knew the art of writing, if by it we are to understand the art of expressing on paper, on skins, on cloths, or on some other similar substance, any sort of words by the different combinations of certain characters: but if the art of writing is taken for that of representing and explaining any subject to absent persons, or posterity, by means of figures, hieroglyphics, and characters, it is certain that such an art was known and much used by the Mexicans, the Acolhuas, the Tlascalans, and all the other polished nations of Anahuac. The count de Buffon, in order to demonstrate that Ame-

rica was a country entirely new, and the people who inhabited it also new, has alleged, as we have already said elsewhere, that even the nations who lived in societies were ignorant of the art of transmitting their events to posterity by means of durable signs, although they had found the art of communicating together at a distance, and of writing, by making knots on cords. But this same art which they made use of to treat with those who were absent, could not serve also to speak to posterity. What were the historical paintings of the Mexicans but durable signs, to transmit to posterity the memory of events to distant places and distant ages? The count de Buffon shows himself truly as ignorant of the history of Mexico, as he is acquainted with the history of nature. M. de Paw, although he grants that art to the Mexicans which the count de Buffon unjustly denies them, makes, however, several remarks to depreciate it; and among others some so singular, that we must mention them.

He says that the Mexicans did not use hieroglyphics; that their paintings were nothing but the coarse drafts of objects; that, in order to represent a tree, they painted a tree; that their paintings nowhere show any understanding of light and shade, any idea of perspective, or imitation of nature; that they had made no progress in that art, by means of which they attempted to perpetuate the memory of events and things passed; that the only copy of historical painting saved from the burning which the first missionaries made of them, is that which the first viceroy of Mexico sent to Charles V., which was afterwards published by Thevenot in France, and Purchas in England; that this painting is so coarse and ill executed, that it is not to be discerned whether it treats, as the interpreter says, of eight kings of Mexico, or eight concubines of Montezuma, &c.

M. de Paw shows his ignorance throughout here, and from thence proceeds his forwardness in writing. Shall we give more faith to a Prussian philosopher, who has seen only the gross copies by Purchas, than to those who have seen and carefully studied many original paintings of the Mexicans? M. de Paw will not allow the Mexicans to have made use of hieroglyphics, because he would not have it thought that he grants them any resemblance to the ancient Egyptians Kir-

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cher, that celebrated inquirer into and praiser of Egyptian antiquities, in his work entitled *Œdipus Egyptiacus*, and Adrian Walton in his preface to the Polyglot Bible, are of the same opinion with M. de Paw; but their opinion has no other support than the same copy by Purchas; but Motolinia, Sahagun, Valades, Torquemada, Arrigo, Martinez, Siguenza, and Boturini, who knew the Mexican language, conversed with the Indians, saw and diligently studied many ancient paintings, say, that among the different modes practised by the Mexicans to represent objects, that of hieroglyphics was one, and that of symbolical pictures another. The same point is attested by Acosta and Gomara, in their histories; by Egniaara, in the learned preface to the Mexican Bibliotheca; and by those learned Spaniards who published, with new additions, the work of Garcia on the *Origin of the Indians*. Kircher was strongly refuted by Siguenza, in his work entitled *Theatre of Political Virtues*. It is certain that Kircher contradicts himself openly: for in the first volume of the *Œdipus Egyptiacus*, where he compares the religion of the Mexicans with that of the Egyptians, he freely confesses that the parts of which the image of the god Huitzilopochtli was composed, had many secret and mysterious significations. Acosta, whose history is justly esteemed by M. de Paw, in the description which he gives of that image, says, “all this ornament which we have mentioned, and the rest, which was considerable likewise, had its particular significations, according to what the Mexicans declared:” and in the description of the idol of Tezcatlipoca expresses himself in these terms: “His hair was tied with a golden cord, from the extremity of which hung an ear-ring of the same metal, with clouds of smoke painted upon it, which signified the prayers of the afflicted and sinners, who were listened to by that god when they recommended themselves to him. In his left hand he had a fan of gold, adorned with beautiful green, blue, and yellow feathers, so bright that it seemed a mirror; by which they intimated, that in that mirror he saw every thing which happened in the world. In his right hand he had four arrows, to signify the punishment he gave to criminals for their misdeeds.’ What are all those, and other insignia of the Mexican idols, of which we have made mention in the sixth book of this his-

tory, but symbols and hieroglyphics, very similar to those of the Egyptians? DISSERT.
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M. de Paw says, that the Mexicans did nothing else to represent a tree but paint a tree: but what did they to represent day and night, the month, the year, the century, the names of persons? How could they represent time and other things which have no figure, without making use of symbols or characters? "The Mexicans," says Acosta, "had their figures and hieroglyphics, by which they represented things in this manner; that is, those things which had a figure were represented by their proper figures; and for those which had no proper image they made use of other characters to signify them; thus they represented whatever they would; and to mention the time in which any event happened, they employed painted wheels, each of which comprehended a century of fifty-two years, &c. (f)"

But here we have another piece of insult from the ignorance of M. de Paw. He ridicules the secular wheels of the Mexicans, the explanation of which he says Carreri ventured to give, in imitation of a Castilian professor called *Congara*, who did not dare to publish the work which he had promised on this subject: because his relations and friends assured him that it contained many errors. It would appear that M. de Paw cannot write without committing errors. That professor whom Carreri or Gemelli imitates, was not a Castilian, but a Creole, born in the city of Mexico; nor was he called *Congara*, but Siguenza and *Gongora*: he did not print his Mexican cyclography, which was the work Genelli made use of, not because he feared any censure from the public but because of the excessive expences of printing in those countries; which have also prevented the publication of many other excellent works, not only of Siguenza, but other most learned authors. To say that the relations and friends of Siguenza dissuaded him from the publication of that work because they found many errors in it, is not a mere mistake occasioned by inattention, but appears a fiction devised to abuse and mislead the public. Who has communicated to M. de Paw so strange an anecdote which is altogether unknown to New Spain, where the memory and fame of that great man is so celebrated,

(f) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. vi. cap. 7.

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and where the learned lament the loss of that and many other works of the same author? What could Siguenza fear from the publication of the Mexican wheels, published already by Valades, in Italy, a century before him, and described by Motolinia, Sahagun, Gomara, Acosta, Herrera, Torquemada, and Martinez, all Europeans; and by the Mexican, Acolhuan, and Tlascalan historians, Iztlilxochitl, Chimalpain, Tezozomoc, Niza, Ayala, and others? All those authors are agreed with Siguenza in that which respects the Mexican wheels of the century, the year, the month, and only differ respecting the beginning of the year, and the name of some months, for the reasons which we have mentioned in the sixth book of this history. Besides, all authors who have wrote on this subject, both Spanish and American, who are many in number, agree in saying that the Mexicans and other nations of those countries made use of such wheels to represent their century, their year, and their month; that their century consisted of fifty-two years, their year of three hundred and sixty-five days, divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, and five days which they called *nemontemi*; that in their century they counted four periods of thirteen years, and that the days also were counted by periods of thirteen; that the names and characters of the years were only four, that is those of the *rabbit*, the *cane* or *reed*, the *flint*, and the *house*, which without interruption were alternately used with different numbers.

This cannot be, says M. de Paw, because it would suppose them to have made a long series of astronomical observations, and thereby attained a knowledge sufficient to enable them to regulate the solar year, and these could not happen to be united with that profound ignorance in which those people were immersed. How could they perfect their chronology while they had no terms to count a higher number than three? Therefore, if the Mexicans had really that method of regulating time, they ought not to be called barbarians and savages, but rather a cultivated and polished people; because a nation must be most cultivated which has made a long series of accurate observations and acquired exact knowledge in astronomy. But the certainty of the regulation of time among the Mexicans is such as not to admit of the smallest doubt: because, if the unanimous testimony of the Spanish writers respecting the *communion* of the Mexicans is not to

be doubted, which M. de Paw himself says is not (g), how can we doubt of the method which those nations had to compute years and centuries, and its conformity to the solar course, both facts being attested unanimously by the Spanish, Mexican, Acolhuan, and Tlascalan historians? Besides, the deposition of the Spaniards in this matter is of very great weight, as they were, as M. de Paw says, rather inclined to degrade the nations of America so far as even to doubt of their rationality. It is necessary, therefore, to believe what historians say of those wheels, and to confess that the Mexicans were not immersed in that profound ignorance which M. de Paw pretends. With regard to what he says of the scarcity of words to express numbers in the Mexican language, we shall, in another place, demonstrate his error as well as his ignorance.

It cannot be known, resumes M. de Paw, what was contained in the Mexican paintings; because the Spaniards themselves could not understand them, until they were explained by the Mexicans, and none of the latter have known hitherto enough to be able to translate a book! In order that the Spaniards should have understood the Mexican paintings, it was not necessary that the Mexicans should know the Spanish language, because it was sufficient that the Spaniards comprehended the Mexican: nor is there so much necessary to explain a picture as to translate a book. M. de Paw says, that on account of the roughness of the Mexican language, no Spaniard has ever learned to pronounce it, and that, from the incapacity of the Mexicans, none of them have yet learned the Spanish tongue: but both the one and the other assertion are far from being true. Of the Mexican language we shall treat in its place. The Castilian has always been very common among the Mexicans, and there are many amongst them who can speak it as well as the Spaniards. Many of them have wrote their ancient history in Castilian, and also that of the Conquest of Mexico; some of whom we have mentioned in the Catalogue prefixed to this History. Others have translated Latin books into Castilian, Castilian into Mexican, and Mexican

(g) "Je vous avoue que le consentement de tous les Historiens Espagnols ne permet gueres de douter que ces deux peuples Americains (*the Mexicans and Peruvians*) n'eussent dans la somme immense de leurs superstitions grossieres, de quelques usages qui ne differoient pas beaucoup de ce qu'on nomme la Communion parmi nous." Tom. II. Letter I.

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into Castilian: amongst others deserving of mention, are D. F. Ixtlil-xochitl, whom we have so often cited; D. A. Valerianes, of Azcapzalco, the master of the Mexican language to the historian Torquemada, &c. We know from the "History of the Conquest," that the celebrated Indian donna Marina, learned with great quickness and facility the Castilian language, and that she spoke the Mexican, and also the Maya language well, which are more different from each other than the French, the Hebrew, and the Illyrian. There having been at all times, therefore, very many Spaniards who have learned the Mexican, as we shall show, and very many Mexicans who have learned the Spanish, why might not the Mexicans have been able to instruct the Spaniards in the significations of their pictures?

With respect to the copies of the Mexican paintings, published by Purchas and Thevenot, it is true that the proportions, or laws of perspective, are not observed in them; but those gross coarse copies having been cut in wood, these authors have possibly increased the defects of the originals; nor ought we to wonder if they have omitted some things contributing to the perfection of those pictures; as we know that they omitted the copies of the twelfth and twenty-second paintings of that collection altogether, and the images of the critics in most of the others; and besides, they change the figures of the year corresponding to the reigns of Ahuitzotl and Montezuma II. as we have already mentioned. Boturini, who saw in Mexico the original paintings of those annals, and of the register of the tributes which were contained in the copies published by Purchas and Thevenot, laments the great defects of those editions. It is sufficient to compare the copies published in Mexico, in 1770, by Lorenzana, with those published in London by Purchas, and in Paris by Thevenot, to perceive and know the great difference there is between copy and original. But we do not mean to maintain the perfection of the original, copied by Purchas; we rather doubt not that they have been imperfect, as all the historical paintings were, in which the painters contented themselves with outlines, regardless of the proportions or colouring of objects, the light and shade, or rules of perspective. Nor was it possible they should observe those laws of the art, on account of their extraordinary expedition in making pictures, as Cortes, Diaz and other eye-witnesses

have attested. But let us observe the conclusions M. de Paw deduces from thence. His arguments are these: the Mexicans did not observe the laws of perspective in their paintings; they could not therefore, by means of them, perpetuate the memory of events: the Mexicans were wretched painters, therefore they could not be good historians; but at the same time that he makes use of this species of logic, he ought also to have said, that all those who in writing do not make good characters cannot be good historians; for that which letters are to our historians, were the figures of the Mexican historians; and as good histories may be written with a bad character, so may facts be well represented by coarse pictures; it is sufficient that either historian make himself understood.

But this is what M. de Paw cannot find in the copies made by Purchas. He declares that having compared the figures of them in different manners with the interpretations annexed, he could never discover any connexion between them; that which they interpret to be eight kings of Mexico, they might equally well interpret to be eight concubines of Montezuma. But the same thing might be said by M. de Paw, if the book *Chun-yum* of the philosopher Confucius, written in Chinese characters, was presented to him with the interpretation in French beside it. He would compare in various modes those characters with the interpretations; and, supposing that he could not find any connexion between them, he might say, that as they interpret that book of the nine qualifications which a good emperor ought to have, they might also interpret it of nine concubines, or nine eunuchs of some ancient emperor, because he understands almost full as much of the Chinese characters as of the Mexican figures. If we had an interview with M. de Paw, we could explain to him what connexion these figures have with their interpretation; but, as he does not know it himself, he ought to take the judgement of those who understand them.

He believes, or would make us believe, that those pictures alone which Purchas copied, were saved from the burning made by the first missionaries; but this is most erroneous, as we have already made appear against Robertson in the beginning of the first volume. The paintings saved from that burning were so many in number, that they supplied the materials for the ancient history of Mexico, not only to the

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Spanish writers, but also to the Mexicans themselves. All the works of don Ferdinand Alba Ixtlilxochitl, of don Dominic Chimalpain, and others named in the catalogue of writers, at the beginning of this history, have been composed by the assistance of a great number of ancient paintings. The indefatigable Sahagun consulted an infinity of paintings for his history of New Spain. Torquemada often cites the pictures which he examined for his work. Siguenza inherited the manuscripts and paintings of Ixtlilxochitl, and procured many others at a great expence, and after having made his extracts from them, left them at his death, together with his valuable library, to the college of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the Jesuits of Mexico; in which library we saw and studied some of those paintings. During the two last centuries, ancient paintings were frequently produced at tribunals by the Mexicans, as titles of property, and the possession of lands; and on that account, interpreters skilled in the significations of such paintings were consulted. Gonzalez Oviedo makes mention of that custom at tribunals in the times of Sebastiano Ramirez de Fuenleal, president of the royal audience of Mexico; and as the knowledge of such titles was of great importance to the decision of suits, there was formerly a professor in the university of Mexico, appointed to teach the science of Mexican paintings, hieroglyphics, and characters. The many pictures collected a few years ago by Boturini, and mentioned in the Catalogue of his Museum, published at Madrid, in 1746, demonstrate, that not quite so few as M. de Paw and Dr. Robertson imagine, have escaped the burning by the missionaries.

In short, to confirm what we have written in this history, and let M. de Paw understand the variety of Mexican paintings, we shall mention here briefly what Dr. Eguiara has written in his learned Preface to his *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. "There were," he says, "among the Mexican pictures those of the lunar course, called by them *Tonalamatl*, in which they published their prognostics respecting the changes of the moon. One of those pictures is introduced by Siguenza, in his *Ciclographia Mexicana*, as he himself acknowledges in his work, entitled, *Libra Astronomica*. Others contained the horoscope of children, in which they represented their names, the day and sign of their birth, and their fortune. Of this sort of

“ painting, mention is made by Jerom Roman, in his *Republic of the World*, Part II. Tom. ii. Others were dogmatical, containing the system of their religion; others historical, others geographical,” &c. “ It is true,” adds the same author, “ that those paintings which were made for familiar and common use, were clear and intelligible to every one: but those which contained the secrets of religion were full of hieroglyphics, the meaning of which could not be comprehended by the vulgar. There was great difference in their paintings, both with respect to their authors, and the method of doing them, and the design and use of them. Those which were made for the ornaments of the palaces were perfect; but in others containing some secret meaning, particular characters, and some monstrous and horrible figures, were employed. The painters were numerous; but the writing of characters, the composing of annals, and the treating of matters concerning religion and politics, were employments peculiar to the priests.” So far EGUIARA.

M. de Paw will please to know, therefore, that among the Mexican paintings some were mere images of objects; they had also characters not composing words as ours do, but significative of things like those of astronomers and algebraists. Some paintings were solely intended to express ideas or conceptions, and, if we may say so, to write; but in these they paid no regard to proportion or beauty, because they were done in haste, and for the purpose of instructing the mind, not of pleasing the eye: in those, however, where they strove to imitate nature, and which they executed with that leisure which works of such kind require, they strictly observed the distances, proportions, attitudes, and rules of the art, though not with the perfection which we admire in the good painters of Europe. In short, we wish M. de Paw would show us some rude or half-polished people of the old continent which has exerted so much industry and diligence as the Mexicans to perpetuate the memory of events.

Dr. Robertson, where he treats of the culture of the Mexicans in the seventh book of his *History*, explains the progress which human industry makes to arrive at the invention of letters, by the combinations of which are expressed all the different sounds of discourse. This successive progress, according to him, proceeds from actual painting to sim-

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ple hieroglyphic, from it to allegorical symbols, from thence to arbitrary characters, and lastly to the alphabet. If any person would wish to know from his history to what degree the Mexicans were arrived, he certainly will not be able to find it; as that historical reasoner speaks with so much ambiguity, that sometimes it appears that he believes they were hardly arrived at the second degree, that is simple hieroglyphic; and sometimes it seems that he judges them arrived at the fourth degree or at arbitrary character. But, independent of what he says, it is certain, that all the above-mentioned ways of representing ideas, except that of the alphabet, were used by the Mexicans. Their numeral characters, and those signifying night, day, the year, the century, the heavens, the earth, the water, &c. perhaps were not truly arbitrary characters. The Mexicans were arrived then as far as the famous Chinese, after many ages of civilization. There is no difference between the one and the other, except that the Chinese characters are multiplied to such excess, that a whole life-time is not enough to learn them.

Dr. Robertson, far from denying, like M. de Paw, the secular wheels of the Mexicans, confesses their method of computing time, and says, that their having observed, that in eighteen months, of twenty days each, the course of the sun was not completed, they added the five days Nemontemi. "This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations to which men in their rude state never turn their thoughts (*h*)." What would he have said had he known, as appears from the chronology of the Mexicans, that they not only counted three hundred sixty-five days to the year, but also knew of the excess of about six hours in the solar over the civil year, and remedied the difference between them by means of thirteen intercalary days, which they added to their century of fifty-two years.

(*h*) Hist. of America, book vii.

S E C T. V.

On the Arts of the Mexicans.

M. de Paw, after having given a contemptuous description of Peru, and the barbarity of its inhabitants, speaks of Mexico, of which state, he says, there are as many falsities and miracles related as of Peru; but it is certain, he adds, that those two nations were upon an equality; whether we consider their government, their arts, or their instruments. Agriculture was abandoned by them, and their architecture most wretched: their paintings were coarse, and their arts very imperfect; their fortifications, their palaces, and their temples, are mere fictions of the Spaniards. If the Mexicans, he says, had had fortifications, they would have sheltered themselves from the musketry, and those six poor pieces of cannon which Cortes carried with him, would not have overthrown in a moment so many bastions and entrenchments. The walls of their buildings were only great stones, laid loosely, one upon another. The boasted palace, where the kings of Mexico resided, was a mere hut; on which account F. Cortes, finding no suitable habitation in all the capital of that state, was obliged to erect a palace for himself in haste, which still exists. It is not easy to enumerate the absurdities thrown out by M. de Paw on this subject: omitting, however, what belongs to Peru, we shall examine what he has written against the arts of the Mexicans.

Of their agriculture we have spoken in other places; where we have shown, that the Mexicans not only cultivated most diligently all the lands of their empire, but likewise, by wonderful exertions of industry, created to themselves new territory for cultivation, by forming those floating fields and gardens on the water, which have been so highly celebrated by all the Spaniards and foreigners, and are still the admiration of all who sail upon those lakes. We have demonstrated that not only all the plants which were necessary for food, for clothing, and medicine, but likewise the flowers and other vegetables which contributed solely to luxury and pleasure, were all most plenteously cultivated by them. Cortes, in his letters to Charles V. and Bernal Diaz, speak

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with astonishment of the famous gardens of Iztapalapan and Huaxtepec, which they saw; and they are also mentioned by Hernandez, in his *Natural History*, who saw these gardens forty years after. Cortes, in a letter to Charles V. of the 30th of October, 1520, speaks thus: "The multitude of inhabitants in those countries is so great, that there is not a foot of land left uncultivated." It is being very obstinate to refuse faith to the unanimous testimony of the Spanish authors.

We have set forth, on the support of the same testimony, the great skill of the Mexicans in bringing up animals, in which kind of magnificence Montezuma surpassed all the kings of the world. The Mexicans could not have bred up such an infinite variety of quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds, without having great knowledge of their natures, their instinct, their habits of life, &c.

Their architecture is not to be compared with that of the Europeans, but it was certainly greatly superior to that of most of the people of Asia and Africa. Who would form a comparison between the houses, palaces, temples, bastions, aqueducts, and roads of the ancient Mexicans, with the miserable huts of the Tartars, Siberians, Arabs, and other wretched nations, which live between the Cape de Verd, and the Cape of Good Hope; or the buildings of Ethiopia, of a great part of India, and the Asiatic and African isles, except those of Japan?

M. de Paw says, the boasted palace of Montezuma was nothing else than a mere hut. But Cortes, Diaz, and the anonymous conqueror, who saw this palace so often, affirm the direct contrary. "He had," says Cortes, talking of Montezuma, "in this city of Mexico, such houses for his habitation, so deserving of admiration, that I cannot sufficiently express their grandeur and excellence; I shall therefore only say, that there are none equal to them in Spain." Thus writes this conqueror to his king, without fear of being contradicted by his officers or soldiers, who had also themselves viewed the palaces of Mexico. The anonymous conqueror, in his curious and faithful relation, speaking of the buildings of Mexico, writes thus: "There were beautiful houses belonging to the nobles, so grand and numerous in their apartments, with such admirable gardens to them, that the sight of them filled us with astonishment and delight. I entered from curiosity four times into a palace belonging to Montezuma, and having pervaded it until

“ I was weary, I came away at last without having seen it all. Around
 “ a large court they used to build sumptuous halls and chambers; but
 “ there was one above all so large that it was capable of containing up-
 “ wards of three thousand persons without the least inconvenience: it
 “ was such, that in the gallery of it alone a little square was formed,
 “ where thirty men on horse-back might exercise.” It is certain from
 the affirmation of all the historians of Mexico, that the army under
 Cortes, consisting of six thousand four hundred men and upwards, in-
 cluding the allies, were all lodged in the palace formerly possessed by
 king Axajacatl; and there remained still sufficient lodging for Monte-
 zuma and his attendants, besides the magazine of the treasures of king
 Axajactl. The same historians attest the most beautiful disposition of
 the palace of birds; and Cortes adds, that in the apartments belonging
 to it two princes might have been lodged with all their suit, and mi-
 nutely describes its porticos, lodges, and gardens. He says also to
 Charles V. that he lodged in the palace of Nezahalpilli, at Tezcuco,
 with six hundred Spaniards, and forty horses, and that it was so large
 it could easily have lodged six hundred more. He speaks in a similar
 manner of the palaces of Iztapalapan, and other cities, praising their
 structure, their beauty, and magnificence. Such were the *huts* of the
 kings and chiefs of Mexico.

M. de Paw says, that Cortes made a palace be constructed in haste
 for his own habitation, because he could not find any one in all that
 capital sufficiently commodious; but M. de Paw is in a great mistake,
 or rather he asserts without truth, and condemns without reason. It is
 true that Cortes, during the siege of Mexico, burnt and demolished
 the greater part of that great city, as he himself relates; and for that
 end he had demanded and obtained from his allies some thousands of
 country people, who had no other employment than to pull down and
 destroy the houses and buildings as the Spaniards advanced into the
 city, that there might not remain behind them any house from which
 the Mexicans could annoy them. It is therefore not very wonderful
 that Cortes did not find a convenient habitation for himself in a city
 which he had himself destroyed; but the ruin of it was not so ge-
 neral, but that there remained a considerable number of houses in the
 division of Tlatelolco, where the Spaniards might have lodged con-

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veniently, with a good number of allies. "Since it has pleased our Lord," says Cortes in his last letter to Charles the Vth, "that this great city of Tlatolco should be conquered, I have not thought proper to reside in it on account of many inconveniences; I have therefore gone, with all my people, to stay at Cuyoacan." Had what M. de Paw says been true, it would have been sufficient for Cortes to have said that he did not remain in Mexico because there were no houses left fit to be inhabited. The palace of Cortes was erected in the same place where formerly that of Montezuma stood. If Cortes had not ruined this palace, he might have lodged conveniently in it, as that monarch had done, with all his court. It is false that the palace erected for Cortes is still in existence; it was burnt in the time of a popular sedition, in 1692. But it is still false that the walls of the Mexican houses were only loose stones laid one upon another without any cement, as the contrary is proved by the testimony of all historians, and by the remains of ancient buildings, of which we shall speak in their place. From hence it appears, that the whole passage above cited from M. de Paw, is idle and fictitious.

M. de Paw, not contented with annihilating the houses of the Mexicans, engages also with their temples; and in anger against Solis, because he affirms that the temples of Mexico were not less than two thousand in number, including large and small, writes thus, "There never has been so great a collection of houses in any city from Pekin to Rome, on which account Gomara, less rash, or more discerning than Solis, says, that computing seven chapels, there were not more than eight places destined for the repositories of the idols of Mexico." In order to shew the unfaithfulness of M. de Paw in citing authors, we shall insert the passage from Gomara to which he alludes. "There were," says Gomara, in chapter eighty of his Chronicle of New Spain, "many Temples in the city of Mexico, scattered through the different districts, that had their towers, in which were the chapels and altars for the repositories of the idols..... They had almost all the same form, so that what we shall say of the principal temple will suffice to explain all the others." And after making a minute description of that great temple, of which he boasts the height, largeness, and beauty, he adds, "Besides those towers,

“ which were formed with their chapels above the pyramid, there were
 “ more than forty other towers, great and small, in other smaller
 “ *Teocalli* (i), which were within the inclosure of that principal tem-
 “ ple, all of which were the same in form. . . There were other *Teocalli*
 “ or *Cues* in other places of the city. . . All those temples had houses
 “ belonging to them, their priests, and their gods, together with
 “ every thing necessary for their worship and service.” So that Go-
 mara, who, according to M. de Paw, does not enumerate in Mexico
 more than eight places destined for the repositories of the idols, including
 seven chapels, reckons clearly more than forty temples within the in-
 closure of the principal temple, besides many other scattered through
 the other districts of the city. Can we give any faith to M. de Paw,
 after so manifest a falsification?

It is true, that Solis was inconsiderate in asserting that number of
 temples for a certainty which the first historians mentioned only from
 conjecture. But M. de Paw shows himself not very discerning in includ-
 ing amongst the public buildings those chapels also which the Span-
 niards call temples. Of these, the quantity was innumerable; all those
 who saw that country before the conquest testify unanimously, that
 not only in the inhabited places, but on the roads and mountains they saw
 such kinds of buildings, which, although small and totally different
 from our churches, were yet called temples, because they were conse-
 crated to the worship of the idols. From the letters of Cortes, as
 well as from the history of Diaz, we know that the conquerors hardly
 went a step in their expeditions without meeting with some temple
 or chapel. Cortes says he numbered more than four hundred tem-
 ples in the city of Cholula alone. But there was a great difference in
 the size of the temples. Some were nothing else than small terraces of
 little height, upon which was a little chapel for the tutelar idol. Others
 were of stupendous dimensions. Cortes, where he speaks of the
 greater temple of Mexico, declares to the emperor, that it is diffi-
 cult to describe its parts, its grandeur, and the things contained in
 it; that it was so large, that within the inclosure of that strong wall
 which surrounded it, a village of five hundred houses might be con-

(i) *Teocalli*, the house of God, was the name which the Mexicans gave to their temple.

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tained. This and the other temples of Mexico, Tezeuco, Cholula, and other cities, are spoken of in the same stile by B. Diaz, the anonymous conqueror, Sahagun, and Tobar, who saw them, and the Mexican and Spanish historians, who wrote after them, and informed themselves accurately on the subject. Hernandez described, one by one, the seventy-eight parts of which the greater temple was composed. Cortes adds, that among the high towers which adorned that great capital were forty, so elevated, that the smallest of them was not inferior in height to the famous *Giralda* (k) of Seville. D. F. de A. Ixtlilaochitl makes mention in his manuscripts of the tower of nine floors, that his famous ancestor Nezahualpilli, erected to the Creator of heaven, which appears to have been that famous temple of Tezcutzinco, so much extolled by Valades in his work.

All this cloud of witnesses depose against M. de Paw. Notwithstanding he cannot believe in that great multitude of temples in Mexico, because he says Montezuma I. was he who gave the form of a city to that village: from the reign of this monarch until the arrival of the Spaniards, no more than forty-two years elapsed, which space of time is not sufficient to build two thousand temples. These three assertions make, as is usual with this author, as many errors. 1. It is false that Montezuma I. gave the form of a city to Mexico, because we know from history that that court had the form of a city from the time of Acamapitzin the first king. 2. It is false, besides, that there intervened but forty-two years between the reign of Montezuma and the arrival of the Spaniards. Montezuma began to reign, as we have shown in Dissertation second, in the year 1436, and died in 1465, and the Spaniards did not come to Mexico before 1519. Therefore, from the beginning of that reign, until the arrival of the Spaniards, elapsed eighty three years; and from the death of that king till then, fifty-five. 3. M. de Paw discovers his total ignorance of the structure of the Mexican temples, nor does he know what multitude of workmen assembled for the construction of the public edifices, and what expedition they made in building. In those times a whole village has been raised, though composed of huts of wood, covered

(k) The very lofty and famous steeple of the Dome of Seville.

or thatched with hay or straw, and the new settlers have conducted their families, their animals, and all their other property to it, in one single night.

As to their fortifications, it is certain and indubitable, from the depositions made by Cortes, and all those who saw the ancient cities of that empire, that the Mexicans, and all the other neighbouring nations living in societies, raised walls, bastions, palisades, ditches, and intrenchments for their defence. But without the attestations of those eye-witnesses, the ancient fortifications which still exist in *Quauhtheco* or *Guatusco*, and near to *Molcavac*, would be sufficient to show the error of M. de Paw. It is true that such fortifications were not comparable to those of the Europeans, because neither was their military architecture perfected, nor had they occasion to cover themselves from artillery, of which they had no experience or conception: but they gave plain proofs of their industry, in inventing many different kinds of expedients to defend themselves from their native enemies. Whoever will read the unanimous deposition of the conquerors, will not entertain a doubt of the great difficulty they found in taking the ditches and intrenchments of the Mexicans during the siege of that capital, although they had such an excessive number of troops of allies, and the advantages of fire arms, and the brigantines. The terrible defeat the Spaniards met with when they meant to have retired in secret from Mexico, will not suffer a doubt to remain concerning the fortifications of that capital. It was not surrounded by walls, because its situation was rendered secure by ditches which intersected all the roads, by which an enemy could approach; but other cities which were not placed in so advantageous a situation, had walls and other means of defence. Cortes himself gives an exact description of the walls of *Quauquechollan*.

But it is not necessary to consume time in accumulating testimonies and other proofs of the architecture of the Mexicans, while they have left, in the three roads which they formed upon the lake itself, and the very ancient aqueduct of *Chapoltepec*, an immortal monument of their industry.

The same authors who attest the architectural skill of the Mexicans, witness also the ingenuity of their goldsmiths, their weavers, their gem-cutters, and their artificers of works of feathers. Many

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Europeans who saw such kind of works were astonished at the abilities of the American artists. Their art in casting metals was admired by the goldsmiths of Europe, as many European writers, then living, have said; and, amongst others, the historian Gomara, who had the works in his hands, and heard the opinion of the Sevilian goldsmiths concerning them, who despaired of ever being able to imitate them. When shall we find any one capable of making those wonderful works already mentioned by us, in Book viii. Sect. 51. of this history, and attested by many writers, namely that, for instance, of casting a fish, which should have its scales alternately, one of gold, and the other of silver? Cortes says, in his second letter to Charles V. that the images made of gold and feathers, were so well wrought by the Mexicans, that no workman of Europe could make any better; that in respect to jewels, he could not comprehend by what instruments their works were made so perfect; and their feather-works could not be imitated neither by wax nor silk. In his third letter, where he speaks of the plunder of Mexico, he says, that among the spoils of Mexico, he found there certain wheels of gold, and feathers, and other labours of the same matter, so wonderfully executed, that being incapable to convey a just idea of them in writing, he sent them to his majesty, that he might be assured by his own sight, of their excellence and perfection. We are certain that Cortes would not have spoken in that manner to his king of those works, which he sent him, in order that he might view them, if they had not been such as he represented. Bernal Diaz, the anonymous conqueror, Gomara, Hernandez, and Acosta, and all those authors who saw them, speak of them in the same manner.

Dr. Robertson (*l*) acknowledges the testimony of the ancient Spanish historians, and believes that they had no intention to deceive us; but he affirms that they were all induced to exaggerate from the illusion of their senses produced by the warmth of their imagination. Such a solution might be made use of to deny faith to all human historians. All therefore must have been deceived, without excepting even the celebrated Acosta, or the learned Hernandez, the goldsmiths of Seville, king Philip II., or Pope Sextus V., who were all admirers,

(*l*) History of America, book vii.

and praised those Mexican labours (*m*)! their imaginations were all heated, even those who wrote some years after the discovery of Mexico! Robertson the Scotsman, and de Paw the Prussian, after two centuries and a half, have alone that temperance of imagination which is required to form a just idea of things, perhaps, because the cold of their climes has checked the heat of their imaginations. “It is not from those descriptions,” adds Robertson, “but from considering such specimens of this art as are still preserved, that we must decide concerning their degree of merit. . . Many of their ornaments in gold and silver, as well as various utensils employed in common life, are deposited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions, lately opened, and I am informed, by persons on whose judgment and taste I can rely, that these boasted efforts of their art are uncouth representations of common objects, or very coarse images of the human, and some other forms, destitute of grace and propriety.” And in a note he says, “in the armory of the royal palace of Madrid are shewn suits of armour, which are called Montezuma’s. They are composed of thin lackered copper-plates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges, they are evidently eastern. The forms of the silver ornaments upon them may be considered as a confirmation of this. They are infinitely superior in point of workmanship to any effort of American art. The only unquestionable specimen of Mexican art that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is said to have belonged to Montezuma. A man’s head is represented on this cup. On one side the full face, on another the profile, and on a third the back parts of the head. The features are rude, but very tolerable, and certainly too rude for Spanish workmanship. This cup was purchased by Edward Earl of Oxford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz.” Thus far Robertson; to whom we answer, first, That there is no reason to believe that those rude works are really Mexican; secondly, That neither do we know whether those persons in whose judgment he could confide, may be persons fit to merit our faith: because we have observed that Robertson trusts frequently to the testimony of Gages, Corral, Ibagnez,

(*m*) See our Seventh book, sect. 54.

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and other such authors, who are entirely undeserving of credit. Possibly those persons who gave their judgment of such labours had their imaginations heated also; as it is easier, according to the state of our degenerate nature, to feel the imagination heated against a nation than in favour of it. Thirdly, it is more probable that those arms of copper, believed by intelligent judges to be certainly oriental, are really Mexican, because we are certain, from the testimony of all the writers of Mexico, that those nations used such plates of copper in war, and that they covered their breasts, their arms, and thighs with them, to defend themselves from arrows; whereas we do not know that such were ever in use among the inhabitants of the Philippine isles (*n*), or among any other people who had commerce with them. The dragons represented in those arms, instead of confirming, as Robertson thinks, the opinion of those who think them oriental, rather strengthen our opinion, because there never was any nation in the world which used the images of terrible animals on their arms so much as the Mexicans. Nor is it matter of wonder, that they had an idea of dragons, while they had ideas of griffins, as Gomara attests (*o*). Fifthly, That although the images formed in these works of gold and silver are rude, they might still be excellent, wonderful, and inimitable; because in those works two distinct points ought to be considered; that of the design, and that of the casting; so that the fish, of which we have made mention above, might be ill formed as to figure, and yet wonderful and surprising in that alternation in the scales of gold and silver, done by cast work. Sixthly, and lastly, The judgment of some persons entirely unknown upon those few doubtful works which are in the royal cabinet of Madrid, should not avail against the unanimous depositions of all ancient writers, who certainly saw innumerable labours of this kind which were really Mexican.

From what we have said, it is manifest that M. de Paw has done the greatest injustice to the Mexicans, in believing them inferior in industry and sagacity to the rudest people of the old continent. Acosta,

(*n*) Dr. Robertson says, that the Spaniards had those arms possibly from the Philippine isles.

(*o*) Chronicle of New Spain, chap. xxi.

when he treats of the industry of the Peruvians, speaks thus: "If those men are beasts, let who will judge; since I am certain, that in that to which they apply themselves, they excel us." This ingenuous confession of a European of so much criticism, so much experience, and so much impartiality, is certainly of more weight than the airy speculations of any Prussian philosopher, or all the reasoning of a Scottish historian; the one and the other ill informed in the affairs of America, or prejudiced against it. But although we should grant to M. de Paw, that the industry of the Americans in the arts is inferior to that of other people in the world, he can infer nothing from them against the talents of the Americans, or the clime of America; as it is certain and indubitable, that the invention and progress of arts are generally more owing to chance, avarice, and necessity, than genius. The men the most industrious are not always the most ingenious in arts, but often the most necessitous, or eager for gold, are so. The barrenness of the earth, says Montesquieu, makes men industrious (*p*). It is necessary that they procure to themselves that which the earth does not yield them. The fertility of a country from the facility with which he is supported, begets indolence in man. "Necessity," says Robertson, "is the spur and guide of the human race to inventions." The Chinese certainly would never have been so industrious, if the excessive populousness of their country had not rendered their support difficult; nor would Europe have made such progress in the arts, if artists had not been encouraged by rewards and the hopes of acquiring fortune. Nevertheless, the Mexicans could boast of many inventions worthy of immortalizing their name, such as, besides those of casting metals and mosaic works of feathers and shells, the art of making paper (*q*); those of dyeing with indelible colours, spinning and weaving the finest hair of the rabbits and hares; making razors of Itzli (*r*); breeding so industriously the cochineal to make use of its colours; making cement for the pavements of their houses, and many others not less valuable, as may

(*p*) *Esprit des Loix*, liv. xviii. chap. 4.

(*q*) The invention of paper is certainly more ancient in America than in Egypt, from whence it was communicated to Europe; it is true, that the paper of the Mexicans was not comparable to the paper of the Europeans; but it ought to be observed that the former did not make theirs for writing but painting.

(*r*) See Book VII. sect. 56. of this history, respecting that art.

DISSERT. VI. be known from the works of the historians of Mexico. But where is the wonder that such inventions were found among those civilized nations, while, amongst other people of America, less polished, arts of the most singular nature have been discovered? What art more wonderful, for example, than that of taming sea-fish, and employing them to chase other larger fish, as the inhabitants of the Antilles used to do. This art alone, of which Oviedo (*s*), Gomara, and other authors make mention, would be sufficient to refute the charge of want of industry among the Americans.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Languages of the Americans.

“THE languages of America, says M. de Paw, are so limited, and “so scarce of words, that it is impossible to express any metaphysical “idea in them. In no one of those languages can they count above “the number three (*t*). It is impossible to translate a book either into “the languages of the Algonquines, or Paraguese, or even into those “of Mexico or Peru, on account of their not having sufficient plenty “of proper terms to express general ideas.” Whoever reads those dogmatical decisions of M. de Paw, will be persuaded, undoubtedly, that he determines after having travelled through all America, after having had commerce with all those nations, and after having examined all their languages. But it is not so. M. de Paw, without moving from his closet at Berlin, knows the things of America better than the Americans themselves, and in the knowledge of their different languages even excels those who speak them. We have learned the Mexican, and have heard it spoken by the Mexicans for many years; but never

(*s*) Oviedo Stor. Gener. e Nat. lib. xiii. cap. 10. Sommario della Stor. &c. cap. 8. Gomara Storia Gener. cap. 20. The species of fish which the Indians trained to chase large fish, as they train hawks in Europe, to chase other birds, was rather small, called by them *Guaican*, and by the Spaniards *Reverso*. Oviedo explains the manner in which they made use of the fish to chase others.

(*t*) In the same section i. of the 5th part of the Recherches Philosophiques, in which he affirms, that no language of America had terms to count more than three, he says the Mexicans could count as high as ten.

knew that it was deficient in numerical terms, and words signifying universal ideas, until M. de Paw gave us that information. We know that the Mexicans gave the name of *Centzontli* (four hundred), or rather that of *Centzontlatale* (he who has four hundred words), to that bird which is so renowned for its sweetness and matchless variety of song. We know besides that the Mexicans anciently counted by *Xiquipilli*, and the nuts of the cacao, in their commerce, and in numbering their troops of war; that *Xiquipilli* was eight thousand; so that when they said that an army consisted of forty thousand, they expressed that it had five *Xiquipilli*. We know, lastly, that the Mexicans had numeral words to express as many thousands, or millions, as they pleased; but M. de Paw knows the direct contrary, and there is not a doubt but he knows better than us; because we had the misfortune to be born under a clime less favourable to the operations of the intellect. Nevertheless, we shall subjoin, to satisfy the curiosity of our readers, the series of numerical terms which the Mexicans have always employed (*u*). It will appear thence, that those who had not, according

(*u*) Numeral Terms of the Mexican Language.

Ce	1.	Nahui	4.	Chicome	7.	Matlachtl	10.
Ome	2.	Mocuilli	5.	Chicuei	8.	Chaxtolli	15.
Jei	3.	Chicuace	6.	Chiucnahui	9.		

With these Terms differently combined together with these three following,

Pohualli or *Poalli* 20, *Tzontli* 400, and *Xiquipilli* 8000, they express any quantity, thus:

Cem poalli	20	Nauhpoalli	80
Ompoalli	40	Macuilpoalli	100
Epoalli	60	Chicuacempoalli	120, &c.
Matlaempoalli ten times 20			200
Caxtolpoalli fifteen times 20			300

Thus they proceed until they come to 400.

Centzontli	400	Naehtzontli	1600
Ontzontli	800	Macuizontli	2000
Etzontli	1200	Chicuacenzontli	2400, &c.
Matlaenzontli ten times 400			4000
Caltoltzontli fifteen times 400			6000

Thus they go on to 8000.

Ce-xiquipilli	8000	Nauhxiqipilli	32,000
Onxiqipilli	16,000	Maenilxiqipilli	40,000
Exiquipilli	24,000	Chicuacenziquipilli	48,000, &c.
Matlaexiquipilli ten times 8000			80,000
Caxtolxiqipilli fifteen times 8000			120,000
Cempoalxiqipilli twenty times 8000			160,000

DISSERT. VI. to M. de Paw, numeral words to count above three, had, in spite of his ignorance, words to count to at least forty-eight millions. In like manner, we could expose the error of M. Condamine and M. de Paw, in many other languages of America, and even in those which are reckoned the most barbarous; as there are in Italy at present persons acquainted with the new world, and capable of giving an account of more than sixty American languages. Among the materials we collected for this work, we have the numeral words of the Araucan language, which although it is a more warlike than civilized nation, has words to express millions.

M. de Paw is not less wrong in affirming, that the languages of America are so poor, that they cannot express a metaphysical idea; which opinion M. de Paw has learned of M. Condamine. Time, says this philosopher, treating of the languages of America, duration, space, being, substance, matter, body, all these words, and many others, have no equivalents to them in their languages; and not only the names of metaphysical beings, but also those of moral beings cannot be expressed, unless imperfectly and by long circumlocutions. But M. Condamine knew as much of the language of America as M. de Paw; and he certainly gained his information from some ignorant person, which is a usual case with travellers. We are perfectly sure that many American languages have not that poverty M. Condamine ascribes to them; but without attending to that we shall examine the state of the Mexican.

It is very true, that the Mexicans had no words to express such conceptions, as matter, substance, accident, and the like; but it is equally so, that no language of Asia, or Europe, had such words before the Greeks began to refine and abstract their ideas, and to create new terms to express them. The great Cicero, who knew the Latin language so well, and flourished in those times when it was at its greatest perfec-

Ompoalxiquipilli forty times 8000	320,000, &c.
Centzonxiquipilli four hundred times 8000	3,200,000
Ontzonxiquipilli eight hundred times 8000	6,400,000
Matlactzonxiquipilli four thousand times 8000	32,000,000
Caltoltzonxiquipilli six thousand times 8000	48,000,000, &c.

We mentioned that they had words to count as far as forty-eight millions at least, but those above are sufficient to confute M. de Paw.

tion, although he esteemed it more copious than the Greek, is often at the greatest difficulty in his philosophical works, to find words corresponding to the metaphysical ideas of the Greeks. How often was he constrained to create new terms equivalent in some manner to those of the Greek, because he could not find any such in use among the Romans; but even at this day, after that language has been enriched by Cicero, and other learned Romans, who, after his example, applied themselves to the study of philosophy, many terms are wanting to express metaphysical notions, unless recourse is had to the barbarous Latin of the schools. None of those languages which are spoken by the philosophers of Europe, had words signifying matter, substance, accident, and other similar ideas: and therefore it was necessary that philosophers should adopt the words of the Latin, or the Greek. The ancient Mexicans, because they had no concern with the study of metaphysics, are very excusable for not having invented words to express those ideas; their language, however, is not wanting in terms signifying metaphysical and moral things, as Condamine affirms those of South America to be; we, on the contrary, affirm, that it is not easy to find a language more fit to treat on metaphysical subjects than the Mexican: as it would be difficult to find another which abounds so much as it in abstract terms; for there are few verbs in it from which are not formed verbals corresponding with those in *io* of the Romans; and but few substantive or adjective nouns from which are not formed abstracts expressing the being, or as they say in the schools, the quiddity of things: equivalents to which we cannot find in the Hebrew, in the Greek, in the Latin, in the French, in the Italian, in the English, in the Spanish, or Portuguese; of which languages, we presume, at least, to have sufficient knowledge, to make a comparison. In order to give some specimen of this language to the curious among our readers, we subjoin some words signifying metaphysical and moral ideas, which are understood by the rudest Indians (*x*).

(*x*) Specimen of words in the Mexican language, signifying moral and metaphysical conceptions.

Tlamantli	King	Nejolnotzaliztli	Reflexion
Jeliztli	Essence	Tlachtopaittaliztli	Foresight
Qualloti	Goodness	Nejoltzotzonaliztli	Doubt
Neltiliztli	Truth	Tlaluamiquiliztli.	Remembrance

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The excessive abundance of words of this nature has been the reason that the deepest mysteries of religion have been explained in the Mexican language without great difficulty, and that some books of the Holy Writings have been translated into it; among which are those of the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Apostles; which like those of Thomas Kempis, and others, translated into Mexican, could not have been done into those languages which are wanting in terms of metaphysical and moral ideas. The books published in Mexico on religion are so numerous, that of them alone might be formed a large library. To this Dissertation we shall add a short catalogue of the principal Mexican authors, in gratitude to their labours, as well as to illustrate what we have advanced.

What we have said of the Mexicans, we may, in great part, affirm also of the other languages spoken in the dominions of Mexico; as there are Dictionaries and Grammars of them, as well as of the Mexican, and treatises in religion have been published in them all.

Cetiliztli	Unity	Tlalcāhualiztli	Forgetfulness
Ometiliztli	Binity	Tlazotlaliztli	Love
Jeitiliztli	Trinity, &c.	Tlacocoliztli	Hatred
Teotl	God	Tlamauhiliztli	Fear
Teojotl	Divinity	Netemachiliztli	Hope
Tloque	} He who has every thing within himself.	Necocoliztli	Pain
Nahuaque			Nejoltēquipacholiztli
Ipalnemoani	Him by whom we live	Ellehutliztli	Desire
Amaciacaconi	Incomprehensible	Qualtihuanī	} Virtue
Cenicacjeni	Eternal	Jectihuanī	
Cenmancanjelitzli	Eternity	Aquallotl	Malice
Cahuittl	Time	Tolchicahualiztli	Strength
Cenjocojani	Creator of all	Tlaxijecoliztli	Temperance
Cenhuelitini	Omnipotent	Jollomachiliztli	Prudence
Cenhueliciliztli	Omnipotence	Tlamelehuaacachicahualiztli	Justice
Tlacatl	Person	Jolhuciliztli	Magnanimity
Tlacajotl	Personality	Tlapaccāihijohuiliztli	Patience
Tajotl	Fatherhood	Tlanemaetiliztli	Liberality
Nanjotl	M otherhood	Paccāncmiliztli	Gentleness
Tlalticpactlacajotl	Humanity	Tlatlacajotl	Benignity
Tejolia	Soul	Necnomatiliztli	Humility
Tēixtlamatia	Mind	Tlazocamatiliztli	Gratitude
Tlamatiliztli	Wisdom	Nepohualiztli	Pride
Ixtlamachiliztli	Reason	Teojehuacatiliztli	Avarice
Ixaxiliztli	Comprehension	Nexicolitli	Envy
Tlaximatiliztli	Knowledge	Tlatzihuiliztli	Sloth
Tlanemiliztli	Thought		

Those Europeans who have learned the Mexican tongue give it the highest praises, and equal it to the Latin; some to the Greek, as we have already observed. Boturini affirms, that in urbanity, politeness, and sublimity of expressions, no language can be compared with the Mexican. This author was not a Spaniard, but Milanese, learned and critical. He knew at least the Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, and of the Mexican so much as to be able to make the comparative judgment. Let M. de Paw, therefore, observe his error, and learn not to decide on matters of which he is ignorant.

Among the proofs on which count de Buffon would rest his system of the recent organization of the matter of the new world, he says, that the organs of the Americans were rude, and their language barbarous. "Observe," he adds, "the list of their animals, their names are so difficult to be pronounced, it is wonderful that any European ever took the trouble of writing them;" but we do not so much wonder at their taking the trouble of writing them as at their negligence in copying them. Among all the European authors who have written the natural and civil history of Mexico, in Europe, we meet with no one who has not so much altered the names of persons, animals, and cities, that it is impossible to guess at what they mean. The history of the animals of Mexico passed from the hands of Hernandez to N. A. Recchi, who knew nothing of the Mexican; from Recchi to the Lincean academicians at Rome, who have published it with notes and dissertations; and count de Buffon made use of this edition. Among the hands of so many Europeans ignorant of the Mexican language, the names of the animals could not at least escape alteration. To shew the alterations which they have suffered in the hands of count de Buffon, it will be sufficient to compare the Mexican names in the history of that philosopher, with those of the Roman edition of Hernandez. It is certain, that the difficulty which we find to pronounce a language to which we are not accustomed, and particularly if the articulation of it is different from that of our own, is no proof that it is barbarous. The same difficulty which count de Buffon finds to pronounce the Mexican names, would be felt by a Mexican who would pronounce the French names. Those who are accustomed to the Spanish language, find great difficulty to pronounce the German and Polish, and

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esteem them the most tough and harsh of all languages. The Mexican language has not been our mother tongue, nor did we learn it in infancy; yet the Mexican names produced by count de Buffon as an argument of the barbarity of that tongue, appear to us beyond comparison more easy to be pronounced than many others taken from other European languages, which he adopts in his Natural History (*y*); and, perhaps, will appear so to many Europeans who are not used to either of the languages; and there will not be wanting persons who will wonder that count de Buffon has taken the trouble to write those names which are capable of terrifying the most courageous readers. In short, with respect to the American languages, he ought to repose in the judgment of those Europeans who have known them, rather than in the opinion of those who have not.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Laws of the Mexicans.

M. DE PAW, desirous of opposing that antiquity which Gemelli, by mistake, has attributed to the court of Mexico, alleges *the anarchy of their government, and the scarcity of their laws*; and treating of the government of the Peruvians, says, that there cannot be laws in a state of despotism; and although they may have once been, it is impossible to make an analysis of them, because we do not know them; nor can we know them, because they were never written, and the memory of them necessarily terminated with the death of those who knew them.

No body has made mention of the anarchy of the kingdom of Mexico till M. de Paw came to the world, whose brain seems to have a particular organization to understand things in a manner contrary to all other men. No person is so ignorant of the history of Mexico, as not to know that those people were subjected to particular heads and

(*y*) The reader will please to read and compare the following names which the count de Buffon has adopted with those which he has taken and altered from the Mexican language:

Baurd manet-jes	Miszorzeciovva	Niedzviedz
Brand hirts	Stachel-schvvein	Przavviaska
Chemik-skarzecsek	Seebeuschlafer	Meer-schvvein
Ildgiers diur	Sterzeczleck	Sezurez, &c.

the whole state to a chief who was king of Mexico. All historians record the great authority of that sovereign, and the high respect his vassals bore him: if this is anarchy, then all the states of the world is surely anarchised.

Despotism was not introduced into Mexico until the last years of the monarchy: in prior times the kings had always respected the laws established by their ancestors, and attended zealously to the observance of them. Even in the reign of Montezuma II. who was the only truly despotic king, the magistrates governed according to the laws, and Montezuma himself punished transgressors severely; and abused his power only in things which served to increase his wealth and his authority.

Those laws were never written, but they were perpetuated in the memories of men, not only by tradition but also by paintings. No subject was ignorant of them, because fathers of families did not fail to instruct their children in them, that they might avoid transgression, and escape punishment. The copies of the paintings of the laws were unquestionably infinite in number, because, although they underwent a furious persecution from the Spaniards, we have seen many of them. The understanding of those paintings is not difficult to any person who has a knowledge of the manner in which the Mexicans usually represented things, the characters which they made use of, and their language; but to M. de Paw they would be as unintelligible as those of the Chinese expressed in the proper characters of that nation. Besides, after the conquest many intelligent Mexicans wrote in European characters the laws of Mexico, Acolhuacan, Tezcuco, Michuacan, &c.; amongst others, D. F. de Alba Ixtlilxochitl wrote in Spanish the eighty laws formerly published by his ancestor king Nezahualcojotl, as we have already mentioned. The Spaniards afterwards investigated the laws of those nations with more diligence than any other part of their history, because the knowledge of them was essentially requisite to the christian government, civil and ecclesiastical; particularly in respect to marriages, the privileges of the nobility, the conditions of vassalage, and of slaves. They gained information from the mouths of the Indians who were the best instructed, and they studied their ancient paintings. Besides the first missionaries, who laboured successfully in this under-

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taking, D. A. Zurita, one of the principal judges of Mexico, learned on the subject of the law, and acquainted with those countries, made diligent enquiry, by order of the catholic king, into their government, and composed that very useful work, which we have mentioned in our catalogue of writers of the ancient history of Mexico. Thus the laws of the Mexicans came to be known, although they were never written.

But what sort of laws? “Many of them worthy,” says Acosta, “of our admiration, and according to which those nations should still be governed in their Christianity.” The constitution of their state, with respect to the succession to the crown, could not have been better framed, as by means of it they not only avoided the inconveniencies of hereditary succession, but those of election also. An individual of the royal family was always chosen king; both to pre-serve the dignity and splendour of the crown, and to hinder the throne from ever being occupied by a man of low birth. As a son did not succeed, but a brother, there was no danger of so high and important a charge being exposed to the indiscretion of a youth, or the stratagems of an ambitious regent.

If the brothers had succeeded according to the order of their birth, the crown would necessarily have sometimes fallen to a person unfit to govern; and it could have happened besides, that the presumptive heir might plot against the life of the sovereign. Both those inconveniencies were obviated by the election. The electors chose first among the brothers of the deceased kings; and on failure of brothers, among the sons of former kings, the fittest person for the command of the nation. If it had been in the power of the king to have named the electors, he could have chosen those who would have been most favourable to his designs, and procured their votes in favour of that brother who was most dear to him, or perhaps in favour of a son, without adhering to the fundamental laws of the state; but it was otherwise, for the electors themselves were elected by the body of the nobility, which included the suffrages of the whole nation. If the office of the electors had been perpetual, they might, by an abuse of their authority, have become the patrons of the monarchy; but as their electoral power finished with the first election, and other new electors were chosen for the next election, it was not easy for ambition to usurp

authority. Lastly, To avoid other inconveniencies, the real electors were not more than four in number, men of the first nobility, of known probity and prudence. It is true, that after all those precautions, disorders could not always be avoided: but what government amongst men has not been exposed to greater evils?

The Mexican nation was warlike, and required a chief who was intrepid, and experienced in the art of war; what custom, therefore, could be more conducive to such end, than that of not electing any one king who had not, by his merits, obtained the charge of general of the army; and of not crowning him who had not, after his election, taken himself the victims, which, according to their system of religion, were to be sacrificed at the festival of his coronation?

The speed with which the Mexicans threw off the Tepanecan yoke, and the glory they acquired by their arms in the conquest of Azcapotzalco, naturally excited the rivalry and jealousy of their neighbours, and particularly the king of Acolhuacan, who had been, and was at that time, the greatest king of all that land; but the throne of Mexico being still in a tottering condition, required a firm prop to support it. The king of Acolhuacan, who had recently recovered, by the aid of the Mexicans, that crown which had been usurped by the tyrant Tezozomoc, had reason to apprehend some powerful subject, following the steps of that tyrant, might excite a rebellion in his kingdom, and deprive him, like his father, of his crown and his life. The king of Tlacopan, who was on a newly established throne not very powerful, had still more to fear. Each of those kings by himself was in no state of security, and had reason to be diffident of the other two; but by uniting together, they could form an invincible power. They therefore made a triple alliance, which rendered each of them secure with respect to the other two, and all three so with regard to their subjects. This was the alliance which fortified the thrones of Acolhuacan and Tacuba, and paved the way for the conquests of the Mexicans; an alliance so firm and well concerted, that it lasted until the arrival of the Spaniards. This single political arrangement is sufficient to evince the discernment and sagacity of those nations.

The judicial forms of the Mexicans and Tezcucans afford many useful political lessons. The diversity of rank in the magistrates con-

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tributed to good order; their attendance in the tribunals from the break of day until the evening, shortened the process of causes, and prevented many clandestine practices which might have interested their decisions. The capital punishments prescribed against prevaricators of justice, the punctuality of their execution, and the vigilance of the sovereigns, kept the magistrates in check; and that care which was taken to supply them with every necessary at the expence of the king, rendered any misconduct in them inexcusable. Those assemblies which were held before the sovereign every twenty days, and particularly that general assembly of the whole of the magistrates every eighty days, to terminate all causes then depending, besides avoiding all the evils occasioned by the delay of justice, were productive of a communication between the magistrates of their different lights, made the king know those whom he had constituted the delegates of his authority, innocence had more resources, and the form of judicature rendered justice still more respectable. That law which permitted an appeal from the tribunal of the Tlacateatl to that of the Cihuacoatl in criminal but not in civil causes, evinces that the Mexicans, respecting the laws of humanity, discerned, that there was more required to prove a man guilty of such crimes than to declare him a debtor. In the trials of the Mexicans they admitted no other proof against the accused than that of witnesses. They never made use of the torture to make the innocent declare themselves guilty, nor those barbarous proofs by duel, fire, boiling-water, and such like, that were formerly so frequent in Europe, and which we now read of in history with amazement and abhorrence. "There will be no person who will not wonder," says Montesquieu, speaking on this subject, "that our ancestors made the fame, fortune, and property of citizens depend on certain things which belonged less to law and reason than to chance, and that they should have used constantly those proofs which were neither connected with innocence nor guilt: what we now say of those proofs posterity will say of the torture, and will never cease to wonder that such a kind of proof was generally in use, for so many centuries, in the most enlightened part of the world." An oath was of great weight in the trials of the Mexicans, as we have already said: because, as they were con-

vinced of the terrible punishments inflicted by the gods on those who perjured themselves, they conceived no one would dare to offend against them; but we do not know that this kind of proof was permitted to the prosecutors against the accused, but only to the accused to clear himself from the crime imputed to him.

The Mexicans punished with severity all the crimes which are particularly repugnant to nature, or prejudicial to a state, such as high treason, murder, theft, adultery, incest, and other excesses of this kind; sacrilege, drunkenness, and lying. So far they conducted themselves wisely in punishing misdeeds; but they erred in the measure of the punishment, which in some cases was excessive and cruel. We do not attempt to palliate the failings of that nation, but neither can we avoid observing, that the most famous people of the old continent have afforded such examples of error and vice in their legislature, as make the laws of the Mexicans appear comparatively more mild and conformable to reason. "The celebrated laws of the Twelve Tables are full," says Montesquieu, "of the most cruel ordinations; attend to the punishment of fire, and other sentences, which are always capital." Yet this is that most famous compilation which the Romans made from the best they found among the Greeks. If then the best laws of greatly polished Greece were such, what must those have been which were not so good? What sort of legislature must those people have had whom they called barbarous? What can be more inhuman and cruel than that law of the Twelve Tables, which permitted creditors to divide the body of a debtor who did not pay, and each creditor to take a portion of it in satisfaction of his debt? This law was not published in the rude beginning of that renowned city, but three hundred years after its foundation. What could be more iniquitous than that law of the famous legislator Lycurgus, which permitted theft to the Lacedaemonians? The Mexicans punished this pernicious crime, but not capitally, except where the thief was unable to pay for the offence with his liberty or with his goods. But this law was not the same in cases of robbery from the fields; because, these lying more exposed to be plundered, required to be more guarded by the laws: but this very law which prescribed capital punishment against the person who rob-

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bed a certain quantity of fruit or maize, permitted necessitous travellers to eat as much as was necessary to supply present want. How much more reasonable and just was this law than that of the Twelve Tables, which condemned without distinction every person to be hanged who stole any thing from the field of another!

Lying, that pernicious crime to society, was left unpunished in most countries of the old continent, but in Japan was frequently punished with death. The Mexicans kept at an equal distance from both extremes. Their legislators, who discerned the genius and turn of the nation, perceived, that if they did not prescribe a heavy pain against lying and drunkenness, truth would be wanting at trials of justice, and faith disregarded in contracts. Experience has shewn how prejudicial impunity in those two crimes has been to those nations.

But in the midst of their severity the Mexicans were cautious not to involve the innocent in punishment with the guilty. Many laws of Europe and Asia prescribed the same punishment against those guilty of high treason, and their families. The Mexicans made the crime capital; they did not, however, deprive the relations of the traitor of life, but only of liberty; and not all of them neither, but only those who, conscious of the treason, had not made a discovery, and thereby made themselves criminal. How much more humane is this than the law of Japan. "Those laws," says Montesquieu, "by which they punish a whole family for a single crime, or a whole district; those laws which do not discriminate the innocent where there are any guilty." We do not know that the Mexicans prescribed any punishment against those who spoke ill of the government; it appears that they did not pay much regard to that liberty of speech in the subjects, which is so much feared in other countries.

Their laws concerning marriage were unquestionably more decent and becoming than those of the Romans, the Greeks, the Persians, the Egyptians, and other people of the old continent. The Tartars marry their daughters; the ancient Persians and Assyrians took their mothers to wife; the Athenians and Egyptians their sisters. In Mexico every marriage was forbid between persons connected in the first degree of consanguinity or affinity, except those between brothers and sisters-in-law, where the brother in dying left a son. That pro-

hibition shews, that the Mexicans judged more justly of matrimony than all the above-mentioned nations. That exception demonstrates their humanity of sentiments. If a widow married a second time, she had frequently the displeasure of seeing her children little beloved by a father who did not give them birth: the new husband little respected by his children, who considered him as a stranger; and the children of each marriage as discordant among themselves, as if they were born of different mothers. What better measure could those nations have adopted, than that of marrying widows with their brothers-in-law. Many ancient nations of Europe, imitated by not a few of the modern people of Asia and Africa, bought their wives; and, on that account, exercised over them an authority greater than the Author of nature has intended, and treated them more like slaves than companions. The Mexicans did not obtain their wives but by lawful and honourable pretensions; and though they presented gifts to the parents, those were not given as a price for the daughter whom they courted, but merely a piece of civility to gain their good will, and dispose the parents to the contract. The Romans, although they did not scruple to lend their wives (z), had, notwithstanding, a right by law to take away their lives whenever they found them out in adultery. This iniquitous law, which made the husband judge and executioner in his own cause, instead of hindering adulteries, increased parricides. Among the Mexicans, that infamous commerce with wives was not permitted; nor had they any authority over their lives. He who took away his wife's life, was, although he caught her in adultery, punished with death. This, they said, was to usurp the authority of the magistrates, to whom it belonged to take cognisance of crimes, and to chastise criminals according to law. Before that law *Julia de Adulteriis* was made by Augustus, we do not know, says *Vives* (a), that a cause of adultery was ever tried in Rome; as much as to say, that that celebrated nation failed in justice in a point of this importance for seven centuries.

(z) In Rome, says Montesquieu, the husband was permitted to lend his wife to another person. It is known that Cato lent his wife to Hortensius, and Cato was incapable of violating the laws of his country. Liv. xxv.

(a) L'Esprit de Loix, liv. xx. chap. 14.

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If, after making a comparison of the laws, we should also compare the nuptial rites of the two nations, we should find in them both a great deal of superstition; but in other respects a strong difference between them; those of the Mexicans were decent and becoming, those of the Romans indecent and reproachable.

In regard to the laws of war, it is seldom we meet with them just among a warlike people; the great esteem of valour and military glory, creates enemies of those who are not otherwise hostile; and ambition to conquer instigates them to trespass on the limits prescribed by justice. Nevertheless, in the laws of the Mexicans, traits appear which would do honour to more cultivated nations. They never declared war until they had examined the motives for it in full council, and received the approbation of the high-priest. Besides, they generally endeavoured by embassies and messages to those on whom war was designed, to bring about what they wished by peaceable measures, before they proceeded to a rupture. Those kinds of delay gave their enemies time to prepare themselves for defence; and besides, the justification of their conduct contributed to make it attended with honour; as it was esteemed very base to make war on an unguarded enemy without having first challenged them, that victory might never be ascribed to any thing else than their bravery.

It is true, that these laws were not always observed, but they were not therefore less just; and if there was any injustice in the conquests of the Mexicans, it was certainly not less in those of the Grecians, Romans, Persians, Goths, and other celebrated nations. One of the great evils attending on war is that of famine, from the waste committed by enemies on the fields. It is not possible totally to prevent this evil; but if there ever has been any thing capable of moderating it, it was certainly that usage of the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, of having in every province a place appointed for the field of battle. The other custom which they had of making every fifth day, in time of war, a day of truce and repose, was not less dictated by humanity than reason.

Those nations had formed a species of *jus gentium*, by virtue of which, if the chief, the nobility, and people, rejected the propositions made them by another people, or nation, and left the decision of a point

to arms; if they were conquered, the chief lost his sovereign power; the nobility, the supreme right which they had over their possessions; the common people were subjected to personal service; and all those who had been made prisoners in the heat of battle were *quasi ex delicto*, deprived of liberty, and the right of life. This is certainly contrary to our ideas of humanity; but the general agreement of those people in such customs rendered their inhumanity less culpable; and examples much more barbarous among the most cultivated nations of the old continent, dissipate the horror which on first consideration is occasioned by the cruelty of those people of America. Among the Greeks, says Montesquieu (*a*), the inhabitants of a city taken by force of arms lost their liberty, and were sold as slaves. Certainly the inhumanity which the Mexicans shewed to the prisoners of their enemy, is not to be compared with that which the Athenians used towards their own citizens. A law of Athens, says the same author, ordained, that whenever the city was besieged, all useless people should be put to death. We shall not find among the Mexicans, or any other polished nation of the new world, a law so barbarous as this of the most cultivated people of ancient Europe. The greatest anxiety, on the contrary, of the Mexicans, and other people of Anahuac, whenever any of their cities was besieged, was to lodge their women, children, and invalids, in a place of security, by sending them to other cities, or into the mountains. By these means, they protected the defenceless members of the community from the fury of the enemy, and prevented all unnecessary consumption of provisions.

The tribute which they paid to the king of Anahuac was exorbitant, and the laws which enforced them were tyrannical; but those laws were the effects of despotism, introduced in the last years of the Mexican monarchy; which, at its greatest height, never reached that excess of monopolizing the lands of an empire, and the property of the subjects, which we justly condemn in Asiatic monarchs; nor were there ever laws published respecting tributes so extravagant and severe as those which have been published in the old world; as, for example, by the emperor Anastasius, who laid a tax even on breathing; "*Ut unusquisque pro haustu aris pendat.*"

But if we censure the tyrannical ambition of those monarchs in the

(a) L'Esprit de Loix, Liv. xx. ch. 11.

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laws on tributes, we cannot at least but admire and praise the refinement of those nations, and the prudence of their legislators in the laws of commerce. They had, in every city or village, a public place or square, appropriated for the traffic of every thing which could supply the necessities and pleasures of life; where all merchants assembled for the more speedy dispatch of business, which they transacted under the eyes of inspectors, or commissaries, in order that frauds might be prevented, and all disorder in contracts avoided. Every merchandize had its particular place, which preserved order and convenience to those who wished to make purchases. The tribunal of commerce, established in the same square, to determine disputes between dealers, and to punish instantaneously every offence committed there, preserved the rights of justice inviolate, and secured the public tranquillity. To these wise dispositions was owing that wonderful order, which, in the midst of such an immense crowd of merchants and merchandize, raised the admiration of the first Spaniards.

Lastly, in the laws respecting slaves, the Mexicans were superior to all the most cultivated nations of ancient, and perhaps modern Europe. If we compare the laws of the Mexicans with those of the Romans, Lacedaemonians, and other celebrated people, we shall perceive in the latter a barbarity that is shocking and cruel; in the former, the greatest humanity and respect to the laws of nature. We do not speak here of prisoners of war. What could be more humane than that law which made men born of slaves free; which allowed a slave a property in his goods, and in whatever he acquired with his own industry and toil; which exacted of the owner to treat his slaves like men, and not like beasts; which gave him no authority over his life, and even deprived him of the power of selling him at market, unless it was after he had, in a lawful manner, declared him intractable and incorrigible: how different were the Roman laws! They, from the high authority granted to them by the laws, were not only owners of all the property of their slaves, but likewise of their lives, of which (*b*) they deprived them at pleasure; treated them with the greatest inhumanity, and made them suffer the most cruel torments; and what still shews more strongly the inhuman disposition of

(*b*) It is not wonderful that the Romans granted that barbarous authority to owners over their slaves, since they granted it to fathers over their lawful children: *Endo liberis justis jus vitae, necis, venundandique potestas Patri.*

this nation, while they enlarged the authority of owners of slaves, they restrained whatever was in their favour. The law *Fusia Caninia*, forbid owners to free by will more than a certain number of slaves. By the *Silanian* law it was ordered, that whenever an owner was killed, all the slaves who inhabited the same house should be put to death, or in any place near where they could hear his voice. If he was killed on a journey, all the slaves who were with him, and also all those who fled, however manifest their innocence, were put to death. The *Aquilian* law made no distinction between the wound given to a slave, and that given to a beast. So far was the barbarity of the very polished Romans carried. The laws of the Lacedæmonians were not more humane, which permitted no slave to have redress at law against those who insulted or injured him.

If, in addition to what we have said hitherto, we should compare the system of education of the Mexicans with that of the Greeks, it would appear that the latter did not instruct their youth so sedulously in the arts and sciences as the Mexicans taught their children the customs of their nation. The Greeks endeavoured to inform the mind, the Mexicans to form the heart. The Athenians prostituted their youth to the most execrable obscenities in those very schools which were destined for their instruction in the arts. The Lacedæmonians tutored their children according to the prescriptions of Lycurgus, in stealing, in order to make them crafty and active, and whipped them severely when they caught them in any theft; not for the theft, but for their want of dexterity, and being detected. But the Mexicans taught their children, together with the arts, religion, modesty, honesty, sobriety, labour, love of truth, and respect to superiors.

Thus we have given a short but true picture of the progress in refinement of the Mexicans, taken from their ancient history; from their paintings, and the accounts of the most correct Spanish historians. Thus were those people governed whom M. de Paw thinks the most savage in the world. Thus were those people governed who are inferior in industry and sagacity to the rudest people of the old continent. Thus were those people governed of whose rationality some Europeans have doubted.

CATALOGUE

OF SOME

European and Creole Authors, who have written on the DOCTRINES
of CHRISTIANITY and MORALITY, in the LANGUAGES of New Spain.

A. stands for *Augustinian*. D. for *Dominican*. F. for *Franciscan*. J. for *Jesuit*. P. for
Secular Priest; and (*) denotes, that the Author printed some of his Works.

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IN THE MEXICAN LANGUAGE.

- * AG. de Betancurt, F. Creole.
Al. de Escalona, F. Span.
Al. de Herrera, F. Spaniard.
* Al. Molina, F. Spaniard.
Al. Rangel, F. Spaniard.
Al. de Truxillo, F. Creole.
And. de Olmus, F. Spaniard.
Ant. Davila Padilla, D. Creole.
Ant. de Tovar Montez, P. Cr.
Arn. Bassace, F. Frenchman.
Baldassare del Castillo, F. Sp.
Bald. Gonzalez, J. Creole.
Barn. Paez, A. Creole.
Barn. Vargas, P. Creole.
Bart. de Alba, P. Creole.
Ben. Fernandez, D. Spaniard.
Ber. Pinelo, P. Creole.
* Ber. de Sahagun, F. Spaniard.
* Car. de Tapia Centeno, P. Cr.
Fil. Diez, F. Spaniard.
Fran. Gomez, F. Spaniard.
Fran. Ximenez, F. Spaniard.
Garcia de Cisneros, F. Spaniard.
Juan de la Anunciacion, A. Sp.

- Juan de Ayora, F. Spaniard.
Juan Battista, F. Creole.
Juan de S. Francisco, F. Span.
Jean Focher, F. Frenchman.
* Juan de Gaona, F. Spaniard.
* Juan Mijangos.
Juan de Ribas, F. Spaniard.
Juan de Romanones, F. Sp.
* Juan de Torquemada, F. Sp.
Juan de Tovar, J. Creole.
Jerom Mendieta, F. Spaniard.
* Jos. Perez, F. Creole.
* Ign. de Paredes, J. Creole.
* Louis Rodriguez, F.
* Mart. de Leon, D. Creole.
* Mat. Gilbert, F. Frenchman.
Mich. Zarate, F.
* Pierre de Gante, F. Fleming.
Pedro de Oroz, F. Spaniard.
* Toribio de Benavente, F. Sp.

IN THE OTOMEE LANGUAGE.

- Al. Rangel.
Barnaba de Vargas.
* Fran. de Miranda, J. Creole.
Gio. di Dio Castro, J. Creole.

Orazio Carochi, J. Milanese.
Pedro Palacios, F. Spaniard.
Pedro de Oroz.
Seb. Ribero, F. "
N. Sanchez, P. Creole.

IN THE TARASCAN LANGUAGE.

* Mat. Gilbert.
Juan Battista Lagunas, F.
* Angelo Sierra, F. Creole.

IN THE ZAPOTECAN LANGUAGE.

Bernardo de Albuquerque, D. Sp.
and bishop of Guajaca.
Al. Camacho, D. Creole.
Ant. del Pozo, D. Creole.
Crist. Agüero, D. Creole.

IN THE MIZTECAN LANGUAGE.

Ant. Gonzalez, D. Creole.
* Ant. de los Reyes, D. Span.
Ben. Fernandez, D. Spaniard.

IN THE MAYA LANGUAGE.

Al. de Solana, F. Spaniard.
And. de Avendano, F. Creole.
Ant. de Ciudad Real, Span.
Bern. de Valladolid, F. Span.
Car. Mena, F. Creole.
Jos. Dominguez, F. Creole.

IN THE TOTONACAN LANGUAGE.

And. de Olmos.
Ant. de Santoyo, P. Creole.
Crist. Diaz de Anaya, P. Creole.

IN THE POPOLUCAN LANGUAGE.

Fran. Toral, F. Sp. bp. of Yucatan.

IN THE MATLAZINCAN LANGUAGE.

Andrea de Castro, F. Span.

IN THE HUANTECAN LANGUAGE.

And. de Olmos.
* Car. de Tapia Centeno.

IN THE MIXE LANGUAGE.

* Ag. Quintana, D. Creole.

IN THE KICHE' LANGUAGE.

Bart. de Anleo, F. Creole.
Ag. de Avila, F.

IN THE CAKCIQUEL LANGUAGE.

Bart. de Anleo.
Alv. Paz, F. Creole.
Ant. Saz, F. Creole.
Ben. de Villacanas, D. Creole.

IN THE TARAUMARAN LANGUAGE.

Ag. Roa, J. Spaniard.

IN THE TEPEHUANAN LANGUAGE.

Ben. Rinaldini, G. Neapolitan.

There are many other languages, as also many other writers; but we omit mentioning any but those whose works have been printed, or at least particularly esteemed by the learned.

DISSERT.
VI.AUTHORS of GRAMMARS and DICTIONARIES of the above-
mentioned Languages.

OF THE MEXICAN.

FRAN. XIMENES, Gram. and
Dict.And. de Olmos, Gram. and Dict.
Bern. de Sahagun, Gram. and
Dict.

* Al. de Molina, Gram. and Dict.

* Car. de Tapia Centeno, Gram.
and Dict.

Al. Rangel, Gram.

* Ant. del Rincon, J. Cr. Gram.

* Orazio Caroçchi, Gram.

Bern. Mercado, J. Cr. Gram.

Ant. Davila Padilla, Gram.

* Ag. de Betancurt, Gram.

Barnaba Paez, Gram.

Ant. de Tovar Montezuma, Gra.

* Ign. de Paredes, Gram.

* Ant. de Castelu, P. Cr. Gram.

* Jos. Perez, Gram.

Gaetano de Cabrera, P. Cr. Gram.

* Ag. de Aldana y Guevara, P. Cr.

Gram.

Jean Focher, F. Frenchm. Gram.

* Ant. Cortes Canal, Indian Priest,
Gram.

OF THE OTOMEEL.

Juan Rangel, Gram.

Pedro Palacios, Gram.

Orazio Caroçchi, Gram.

N. Sanchez, Dict.

Seb. Ribero, Dict.

Giov. di Dio Castro, Gram. and
Dict.

OF THE TARASCAN.

* Mat. Gilbert, Gram. and Dict.

* Ang. Sierra, Gram. and Dict.

Juan Battista de Lagunas, Gram.

OF THE ZAPOTICAN.

Ant. del Pozo, Gram.

Crist. Aguero, Dict.

OF THE MIZTECAN.

Ant. de los Reyes, Gram.

OF THE MAYA.

And. de Avendano, Gram. and Dict

Ant. de Ciudad Real, Dict.

Louis de Villanpando, Gram. and
Dict.

* Pedro Beltran, F. Cr. Gram.

OF THE TOTONACAN.

And. de Olmos, Gram. and Dict.

Crist. Diaz de Anaya, Gram. and
Dict.

OF THE POPULUCAN.

Franc. Toral, Gram. and Dict.

OF THE MATLAZINCAN.

And. de Castro, Gram. and Dict.

OF THE HUANTECAN.

And. de Olmos, Gram. and Dict.
 Car. de Tapia, Gram. and Dict.

OF THE MIXE.

* Ag. Quintana, Gram. and Dict.

OF THE CAKCHIQUEL.

Ben. de Villacanas, Gram. and Dict.

OF THE TARAUMARAN.

Jerom Figueroa, J. Cr. Gram. and
 Dict.

Ag. de Roa, Gram.

OF THE TEPEHUANAN.

Jerom Figueroa, Gram. and Dict.

Tom. de Guadalaxara, J. Cr. Gram.

Ben. Rinaldini, Gram.

DISSERT.
 VI.

DISSERTATION VII.

Of the Boundaries and Population of the Kingdoms of Anahuac.

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THE mistakes of many Spanish authors, concerning the boundaries of the Mexican empire, and the romantic notions of M. de Paw, and other foreign authors, respecting the population of those countries, have compelled us to engage in this Dissertation, to ascertain the truth; which we shall do as briefly as possible.

S E C T. I.

Of the Boundaries of the Kingdoms of Anahuac.

SOLIS, following several ill-informed Spanish authors, affirms that the Mexican empire extended from the isthmus of Panama to the cape of Mendocina in California; Touron, a French Dominican, desirous, in his General History of America, of enlarging those boundaries, says, that all the discovered countries in North America were subject to the king of Mexico; that the extent of that empire, from east to west, was 500 leagues; and from north to south, 200, or 250 leagues; that its boundaries were, on the north, the Atlantic ocean; in the west, the gulf of Anian; in the south, the Pacific ocean; and in the east, the isthmus of Panama; but besides the geographical errors of this description, there is also a contradiction in it; because, if it ever were true, that that empire extended from the isthmus of Panama to the gulf or strait of Anian, the extent of it would not be only 500, but 1000 leagues, as it would not comprehend less than 50 degrees.

The origin of this error is, that those authors were persuaded that there was no other sovereign in Anahuac, but that of Mexico: that the kings of Acolhuacan and Tlacopan were his subjects, and that the Michuacanese and Tlascalans, also depending on that crown, had lat-

terly rebelled. But none of those states ever belonged to the kingdom of Mexico. This appears evident from the testimony of all the Indian historians, and all the Spanish writers who received their information from them; namely, Motolinia, Sahagun, and Torquemada. The king of Acolhuacan had always been the ally of Mexico, from the year 1424, but was never the subject. It is true, that when the Spaniards arrived there, the king Cacamatzin appeared to depend on his uncle Montezuma; because, on account of the rebellious spirit of his brother Ixtlilxochitl he required the protection of the Mexicans. The Spaniards afterwards saw Cacamatzin come as ambassador from the king of Mexico, and serve him likewise in other capacities. They saw him also led prisoner to Mexico, by order of Montezuma. All this renders the errors of the Spaniards, in great measure, very excusable; but it is certain, that those demonstrations of services towards Montezuma were not those of a vassal to his king, but those of a nephew to his uncle; and that Montezuma, in ordering him to be taken to please the Spaniards, arrogated to himself an authority which did not belong to him, and did that king a heavy injury, of which he afterwards repented. As to the king of Tlacopan, it is true, that he was created a sovereign by the king of Mexico, but he had absolute and supreme dominion over his states, on the single condition of being the perpetual ally of the Mexicans, and of giving them assistance with his troops whenever it was necessary. The king of Michuacan, and the republic of Tlascala, were always rivals and professed enemies of the Mexicans, and there is no memory that either the one or the other was ever subject to the crown of Mexico.

The same thing might be said of many other countries which the Spanish historians believed to be provinces of the Mexican empire. How was it possible that a nation, which was reduced to a single city, under the dominion of the Tepanecas, should, in less than a century, subdue so many people as were between the isthmus of Panama and California? What the Mexicans really did, though far less than the above mentioned authors report, was truly surprising, and would not be credible, if the rapidity of their conquests had not been confirmed by incontestible proof. Neither in the narratives of the Indian historians, nor in the enumeration of the states conquered by the kings of

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Mexico, which is found in the collection of Mendoza, nor in the register of the tributary cities explained in that collection, can we find any foundation for assenting to that arbitrary enlargement of the Mexican dominions; but, on the contrary, it is entirely contradicted by Bernal Diaz. He, in the xciii^d chapter of his history says, “ the great
“ Montezuma had several garrisons and people of war on the frontiers
“ of his states. He had one in Soconusco, to defend himself on the
“ side of Guatemala and Chiapa; another to defend himself from the
“ Panachese, between Tuzapan and that place, which we call *Almeria* ;
“ another in Coatzacualco, and another in Michuacan (c).”

We are certain, therefore, in the first place, that the Mexican dominions did not extend in the south beyond Xoconocho, and that none of all the provinces which at present are comprehended in the dioceses of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras, belonged to the Mexican empire. In our ivth book we have said, that *Tliltototl*, a celebrated Mexican general, in the last years of king Ahuitzotl, carried his victorious arms as far as Guatemala; but there we also add, that it is not known that that country remained subject to the crown of Mexico; the contrary appears rather from history to be the truth. Torquemada, in book ii. c. 81. makes mention of the conquest of Nicaragua by the Mexicans, but what he affirms there of an army of the Mexicans in the time of Montezuma, is in book iii. c. 10. attributed by him to a colony which had gone out many years before, by order of the gods, from the neighbourhood of Xoconocho; wherefore his account is not to be depended upon.

Bernal Diaz, in chap. clxvi. expressly affirms, that the Chiapanese were never subdued by the Mexicans; but this is not to be understood of their whole country, but of a part only; because we know from Remezal, Chronicler of that province, that the Mexicans had a garrison in Tzinacantla; and it is certain from the tribute list, that Tochtlan, and other cities of that country, were tributaries of the Mexicans.

In the north, the Mexicans did not advance farther than Tuzapan, as we are told in the last quoted passage of Diaz; and we know for certain, that the Panachese were never subjected to them. In

(c) What we have to say of the boundaries of the kingdoms of Anahuac will be better understood by consulting our charts.

the east, we have already fixed their boundaries at the river Coatzacoalco. Diaz says, that the country of Coatzacoalco was not a province of Mexico; on the other hand we find, among the tributary cities of that crown, Tochtlan, Michapan, and other places of that province. We are, however, persuaded, that the Mexicans possessed all that was to the west of the river Coatzacoalco, but not that which was to the east of it; and that this river was their boundary in that quarter. Towards the north, their possessions were bounded by the country of the Huastecas, who were never subdued by the Mexicans. Towards the north-west, the empire did not extend beyond the province of Tulba; all that great tract of land which was beyond this province was occupied by the barbarous Otomies and Chechemecas, who had no society, nor obeyed any sovereign. In the west, it is known that the empire terminated at Tlaximalojan, the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan; but on the sea-coast is extended as far as the western extremity of the province of Coliman, and no farther. In the catalogue of the tributary cities, Coliman, and other places of that province, appear, but none that are beyond it: nor are they mentioned in the history of Mexico. The Mexicans had nothing to do with California, nor could they expect any advantage from the conquest of a country so distant, so unpeopled, and miserable. If that dry and rocky peninsula had ever been a province of the Mexican empire, some population would have been found there; but it is certain, that there was not a single house met with upon it, nor the least remains or traces of inhabitants. Lastly, in the south, the Mexicans had made themselves masters of all those great states which were between the Vale of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The greatest length of their dominions was on the sea coast from Xoco-nocheo to Coliman.

Dr. Robertson says, that the territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tacuba scarcely yielded in extent to those of the sovereign of Mexico (*d*). But this is very far from being true, and contrary also to what all the historians of Mexico say. The kingdom of Tezcuco, or Acolhuacan, was bounded on the west partly by the

(*d*) There were three places of the name of *Tochtlan*, (called by the Spaniards *Tustla*;) the first in the province of Chiapa, the second in Xoconochco, or Soconusco, and the third in Coatzacoalco.

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lake of Tezcucō, partly by Tzompanco, and other Mexican states; and in the east, by the dominions of Tlascala; so that it could not extend from west to east above sixty miles; on the south it was bounded by the state of Chalco, belonging to Mexico; and in the north by the independent state of the Huastecas. From the frontier of this country to that of Chalco, the distance is about two hundred miles, which is the whole extent of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, but does not make one eighth part of that of the Mexican dominions. The states of the petty king of Tacopan, or Tacuba, were so small, that they did not merit the name of a kingdom; for from the Mexican lake in the east, to the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan in the west, the extent was not more than eighty miles; nor from the valley of Tolocean in the south, to the country of the Otomies in the north, more than fifty. The comparison, therefore, made by Robertson, of the dominions of Acolhuacan and Tacuba with those of Mexico, is erroneous.

The republic of Tlascala, surrounded by the Mexican and Tezcucan dominions, and by the states of Cholula and Huexotzinco, was so confined, that from east to west it had scarcely fifty, and from south to north not above thirty miles of extent. We have met with no author who gives a greater latitude to this state except Cortes, who says, that the dominions of this republic were ninety leagues in circumference; but this is a manifest error.

With respect to the kingdom of Michuacan, no one, as far as we know, has mentioned all its ancient boundaries, except Boturini. This author says, that the extent of that kingdom, from the valley of Ixtlahuacan, near Tolocean, to the Pacific Ocean, was five hundred leagues; and from Zacatollan to Xichu, one hundred and sixty leagues; and that in the dominions of Michuacan were comprehended the provinces of Zacatollan, Coliman, and that province which the Spaniards called *Provincia d'Avalos*, situate to the north-west of Coliman. But this author was wholly deceived in his account; for it is certainly known, that the kingdom of Michuacan had not its boundaries in Ixtlahuacan, but Tlaximalojan, where the Mexican dominions reached. We know from the list of tributes, that the maritime provinces of Zacatollan and Coliman belonged to Mexico. Lastly, the Michuacanese could not extend their dominions as far as Xichu, without subduing the bar-

barous Chechemecas, who occupied that quarter; but we know that the last were not subdued till many years after the conquest by the Spaniards. The kingdom of Michuacan, therefore, was not so large as Boturini believed it; its extent did not comprehend more than three degrees of longitude, and about two of latitude.

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What we have said hitherto tends to shew the exactness of our description, and of our geographical charts, with respect to the boundaries of those kingdoms, founded on the history of them, the register of the tributes, and the testimony of the ancient writers.

S E C T. II.

On the Population of Anahuac.

WE do not propose here to treat of the population of all America; that would be too large a subject, and foreign to our purpose; but solely of that of Mexico, which belongs to this history. There were, and there are, in America, many populous countries, and there are also vast deserts; and they are not less distant from the truth, who imagine the countries of the new world as populous as those of China, than they who believed them as unpeopled as those of Africa. The calculation of P. Riccioli is as uncertain as those of Susmilch and M. de Paw. Riccioli gives three hundred millions of inhabitants to America. The political arithmeticians, says M. de Paw, do not reckon more than one hundred millions. Susmilch, in one part of his work, computes them at one hundred, and in another at one hundred and fifty millions. M. de Paw, who mentions all these calculations, says, there are not of real Americans more than from thirty to forty millions. But we must repeat, that all those calculations are most uncertain, as they are not founded on any proper grounds; for if we do not know hitherto the population of those countries in which the Europeans have established themselves, such as those of Guatimala, Peru, Quito, Terra Firma, Chili, who is capable of guessing the number of inhabitants of the numerous countries little or not at all known to the Europeans, such as those which are to the north and north-west of Coahuila, New Mexico, California, and the river *Colorado*, or Red River, in North

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America? Who can number the inhabitants of the new world, while he does not know the number of provinces and nations which it contains? Leaving aside, therefore, such calculations, which cannot be undertaken with the least degree of certainty, we shall content ourselves with examining what M. de Paw and Dr. Robertson say on the population of Mexico.

“The population of Mexico and Peru,” says M. de Paw, “has undoubtedly been exaggerated by the Spanish writers, who are used to represent objects with immoderate proportions. Three years after the conquest of Mexico, the Spaniards had occasion to bring some people from the Lucayos, and afterwards from the coast of Africa, to people the kingdom of Mexico. If this monarchy contained in 1518 thirty millions of inhabitants, why in 1521 was it depopulated?” We shall never deny, that among the Spanish writers there are many addicted to exaggerating, as there are also among the Prussians, the French, the English, and other people; because the immoderate desire to magnify things which they describe is a passion common to all nations in the world, from which M. de Paw himself is not free, as he demonstrates through the whole of his work: but to censure all the Spaniards together is an indiscriminate charge, most injurious to that nation, which, like every other, has a mixture of good and bad in it. After having read, at least, the best historians of the cultivated nations of Europe, we have not found two who appear comparable as to sincerity with the two Spaniards Mariana and Acosta, who are highly esteemed therefore, and extolled by all writers. Among the ancient historians of Mexico, there have been some, such as Acosta, Diaz, and Cortes himself, of whose sincerity of relation there is no doubt. But although each of these authors had not been possessed of those qualities which are required to merit our belief, nevertheless, the uniformity of their testimonies would be an undeniable proof of the fidelity of their accounts. Authors of little veracity disagree among themselves, except when they copy each other; but this does not happen to those historians, who, intent only on relating what they have themselves seen, or found probable from information, did not regard what others had written; on the contrary, it appears from their works, that at the time they were writing, they had not the writings of

others under their eyes. M. de Paw himself (*f*.) speaking in one of his letters of that rite of the Mexicans of consecrating and eating the statue of paste of *Huitzilopochtli*, by him called *Vitzilipultzi*, and of the rite among the Peruvians at their festival *Capac-raime*, writes thus to his correspondent: "I confess to you, that the unanimous testimony of the Spanish writers does not allow us to doubt of it." If the consent then of the Spanish historians, concerning what they did not see, does not allow us to doubt of it, how should he doubt of that which they depose as eye-witnesses?

Let us enquire therefore what the ancient Spanish writers say of the population of America. All agree in affirming, that those countries were well peopled, that there were very many large cities, and an infinite number of villages and hamlets; that many thousands of merchants assembled at the markets of populous cities: that they mustered most numerous armies, &c. Cortes, in his letters, and the anonymous conqueror, Alfonso de Ojeda, and Alfonso de Mata, in their memoirs, Las Casas in his work entitled, the *Destruction of the Indies*; B. Diaz, in his history, Motolinia, Sahagun, and Mendieta, in their writings; all eye-witnesses of the ancient population of America; Herrera, Gomara, Acosta, Torquemada, and Martinez, are all of the same opinion with respect to the great population of those countries. M. de Paw cannot produce a single ancient author who does not confirm it by his testimony; whereas, we can cite several authors who do not make any mention of that superstitious rite of the Mexicans, namely, Cortes, Diaz, and the anonymous conqueror, the three most ancient Spanish writers on Mexico. Notwithstanding M. de Paw affirms, that we cannot doubt of such a rite, because of the unanimous testimony of the Spaniards; who then would doubt of the great population of Mexico, or rather deny it so strongly against the uniform depositions of all the ancient historians? But if the population of Mexico was so great in 1518, why in 1521 was it necessary to bring people there from the Lucayos, and afterwards from the coast of Africa, to people it? We confess ingenuously we cannot read this objection of M. de Paw, without being extremely offended at his affirming with such hardiness, that:

(*f*) Tom. II. Letter I.

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which is directly false, and contrary to the accounts of authors. Where has M. de Paw read that it was necessary to transport people from the Lucayos to people Mexico? We defy him to produce a single author who says so; we know rather the contrary from many writers. We know from Herrera and others, that from 1493, when the Spaniards established themselves in Dominica, to 1496, the third part of the inhabitants of that large island perished in war, and through other distresses. In 1507, there did not remain more than the tenth part of the Indians which were in 1493, according to Las Casas, an eye-witness; and from that time the population of that island diminished to such a degree, that in 1540, there hardly remained two hundred Indians; on which account, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Spaniards began to transport thousands of Indians from the Lucayos, to recruit the population of Hispaniola; but those having likewise died, they began before the conquest of Mexico to carry people from Terra Firma, and other countries of the continent of America, according as they discovered them. It is known from a letter written to the council of the Indies by the first bishop of Mexico, sent by Las Casas to the emperor Charles V. that the cruel governor of Panuco Nugno Guzman, sent from thence twenty-eight vessels loaded with Indian slaves to be sold in the islands: so that it is far from being true, that the Spaniards carried people from the islands to inhabit the continent of North America; that on the contrary they carried people from the continent to inhabit the isles, which the above authors expressly relate. It is true, that after the conquest of Mexico, slaves were imported there from Africa; not because there was any want of people; but because the Spaniards required them to serve in the making of sugar, and to work in the mines, to which they could not compel the Americans, on account of the laws then recently published: it is, therefore false, and contrary to the deposition of those above mentioned authors, that Mexico was depopulated three years after the conquest; or that it was necessary to bring people there from the Lucayos and Africa to recruit its inhabitants. We are rather certain, that some colonies were sent a few years after the conquest, from the countries subject to the king of Mexico, and the republic of Tlascala, to people other lands, namely, Zacatecas, Suis, Potosi, Saltillo, &c. &c.

But let us see what those ancient writers say in particular of the population of Mexico. We do not know that any one of them has had the boldness to express the number of the inhabitants of Mexico; whether it did or did not contain thirty millions, could have been known from the kings of Mexico and their ministers; and although the Spaniards might have informed themselves from them of this particular, we do not find that any one of them has done so. That which several of them affirm is, that among the feudatories of the king of Mexico were thirty who had each about an hundred thousand subjects, and other three thousand lords who had a smaller number of vassals. Laurentius Surius affirms (*f*) that this is certain from records which were in the royal archives of the emperor Charles V. Cortes, in his first letter to that emperor, speaks thus: “The multitude of inhabitants in those countries is so great, that there is not a foot of soil left uncultivated; but notwithstanding there are many who, for want of bread, go begging through the streets and markets.” B. Diaz, the anonymous conqueror, Motolinia, and other eye-witnesses, give us similar ideas of the population of Mexico. To come to the particular countries of Anahuac, we are certain, from the depositions of the above mentioned, and almost all the ancient authors, of the great population of the Mexican vale, of the countries of the Otomies, of the Malatzincas, Tlahuicas, Coahuixcas, Miztecas, Zapotecas, and Cuitlatecas; of the province of Coatzacualco; of the kingdoms of Acolhuacan, and Michuacan, and the states of Tlascalala, Cholula, Huexotzinco, &c.

The vale of Mexico, although that a great part of it was occupied by the lakes, was at least as well peopled as the most populous country of Europe. It contained forty considerable cities, which we have already named, and are mentioned likewise by the ancient writers. The other inhabited places of it were innumerable, the names of which we could also give, if we were not afraid of tiring our readers. The very sincere B. Diaz, describing, in chap. viii. of his History, what he saw in his way through the vale towards the capital, speaks thus: “When we beheld things so wonderful we knew not what to say, nor whether the objects before our eyes were real; we saw so many great cities

(*f*) Surius in *Commentario brevi rerum in orbe gestarum ab anno 1500 ad 1568*,

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“ situated on the main land, and many others in the lake, and an infinity of little vessels upon it.” He says farther, that some soldiers, his companions, in wonder beyond measure at seeing so great and beautiful a territory, were in doubt whether what they saw was the effect of a dream, or enchantment. Those, and many other candid confessions of Diaz, are sufficient to answer Robertson, who availed himself of certain words of that author, which he did not well comprehend, to make his readers believe that the population of Mexico was not so great as it certainly was.

Concerning the population of the ancient capital, there are various opinions; nor can the case be otherwise where an attempt is made to judge of the populousness of a great city by the eye: but all the writers who saw it, or were informed by eye-witnesses, are agreed in saying that it was very great. Herrera says it was twice as large as Milan. Cortes affirms that it was as large as Seville and Cordova; Surius citing certain records which were in the royal archives of Charles V., says, that the population of Mexico amounted to an hundred and thirty thousand houses. Torquemada, following Sahagun and other Indian historians, reckons an hundred and twenty thousand houses; and adds, that in each house were from four to ten inhabitants. The anonymous conqueror speaks thus of it: “ this city of Temistitan may be about two leagues and a half, or near three leagues, more or less, in circumference; the greater part of those who have seen it, judge that there are upwards of sixty thousand fires in it, and rather more than less.” This calculation, adopted by Gomara and Herrera, appears to us to come nearest the truth, considering the extent of the city, and the manner of dwelling of those people.

But the whole of this is contradicted by M. de Paw. He calls the description excessive and exaggerated, which is given of this city of America; “ which contained, according to some authors, seventy thousand houses in the time of Montezuma II., so that at that time it must have had three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; whereas it is notorious, that the city of Mexico, considerably increased under the dominion of the Spaniards, has not at present above sixty thousand inhabitants, including twenty thousand negroes and mulattoes.” This is another passage of the *Recherches Philosophiques*, which will make

the Mexicans smile. But who can avoid smiling when they see a Prussian philosopher so bent on diminishing the populousness of that American city, and angry at those who represent it greater than he wishes it? Who will not be surprised to hear that the number of the inhabitants of Mexico is notorious in Berlin, when it is not many years since it has been known to the ecclesiastics, who every year make an enumeration; we shall therefore give M. de Paw some certain information concerning that city of America, that he may in future avoid those errors into which he has fallen in speaking of its populousness.

Mexico, he must know, is the most populous city of all those which the catholic King has in his vast dominions. From the bills of mortality published daily in the cities of Madrid and Mexico, it appears that the number of the inhabitants of Madrid is a fourth less than that of Mexico; for example, if Madrid has a hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, Mexico has, without doubt, two hundred thousand. There has been a great difference of opinions respecting the number of souls of the modern city of Mexico, as there was also respecting the ancient city, and all other cities of the first rank; but there being an enumeration made with great accuracy of late years, partly by the priests, and partly by the magistrates, it has been found that the inhabitants of that capital exceeded two hundred thousand, although they have not ascertained how much more. We may form some idea of its populousness from the quantity of *pulque* (*g*) and tobacco which is daily consumed there (*h*). Every day are brought into it upwards of six thousand *arrobas* of *pulque*; that is, a hundred and ninety thousand Roman pounds: in the year 1774, there were two millions, two hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and ninety-four and an half *arrobas* entered; that is, more than seventy-three millions of Roman pounds; but in this computation we do not comprehend what is introduced by smuggling, nor that which the Indians, who are pri-

(*g*) *Pulque* is the usual wine, or rather beer, of the Mexicans, made of the fermented juice of the Maguei. This liquor will not keep above one day, and therefore what is made is daily consumed.

(*h*) Our account of the daily consumption of *pulque* and tobacco in Mexico is taken from the letter of one of the chief accountants of that custom-house, of the 23d of February, 1775.

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vileged, sell in the principal square of the city. This amazing quantity of pulque is almost solely consumed by the Indians and Mulattoes, the number of which is surpassed by that of the Whites and Creoles, few of whom make use of this beverage. The tax upon it amounts annually, in the capital alone, to about two hundred and eighty thousand crowns, (pesos fuertes). The daily consumption of tobacco for smoaking, in that capital, is reckoned at one thousand two hundred and fifty crowns, or thereabouts; which in one year makes the sum of four hundred and fifty thousand crowns and more. But it is necessary to be understood, that among the Indians very few use tobacco; among the Europeans and Creoles very many do not use it, and some of the Mulattoes do not. Who will put greater faith in the calculations made by M. de Paw, than in the registers of the capital? or who will place more value on the judgment of a modern Prussian, who is so extravagant respecting the ancient populousness of that city, than on that of so many ancient writers who saw it?

With regard to the city and court of Tezenco, we know from the letters of Cortes to Charles V., that it contained about thirty thousand houses; but this ought to be understood solely of the court; for including the other three cities of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and Atenco, which, as Cortes attests, appeared to form a separate population, it was, by a great deal, larger than Mexico. Torquemada, following Saha-gun, and the accounts of the Indians, affirms, that the population of those four cities contained an hundred and forty thousand houses; from which number, although we deduct an half, a considerable population would remain. No historian has told us the population of Tlacopan, although all affirm it was considerable. Of Xochimilco we know, that next to the three royal residences, it was the largest of all. Of Iztapalapan, Cortes affirms, it had from twelve to fifteen thousand fires; of Mixcoac, he says, that it had about six thousand; Huitzilopochco from four to five thousand; Acolman and Otompan each four thousand; and Mexicaltineo, three thousand. Chalco, Azeapozalco, Cojoacan, Quauhtitlan, were, without comparison, larger than these last mentioned cities. All these, and a great many others, were comprehended in the vale of Mexico alone: the sight of which caused no less admiration than fear to the Spaniards when they first

observed them from the top of the mountains of that delightful valley. They felt the same astonishment when they saw the population of Tlascala. Cortes, in his letter to Charles V. speaks thus of that city: "It is so large and wonderful, that although I omit a great deal of what I could say, I believe that little which I say will appear incredible; for it is much larger and more populous than Granada when it was taken from the Moors, more strong, has as good buildings, and more abundance of every thing."

The anonymous conqueror speaks of it in the same manner. "There are," he says, "great cities, and among others that of Tlascala, which in some respects resembles Granada, and in others Segovia, but it is more populous than either." Of Tzimpantzinco, a city of the republic, Cortes affirms (*i*), that the enumeration of the houses having been made at his desire, there were found to be twenty thousand. Of Huejotlipan, a place of the same republic, he says, that it had from three to four thousand fires. Of Cholula Cortes affirms, that it had about twenty thousand houses, and as many in the neighbouring villages, which were like its suburbs. Huexotzinco and Tepeyacac were the rivals of Cholula in greatness. These are some of the peopled places which the Spaniards saw before the conquest; we omit many others, of the greatness of which we are certified by the testimony of these and other authors.

We are not less convinced of the population of those countries from the innumerable concourse of people which were seen at their markets, from the very numerous armies which they raised whenever it was necessary, and the surprising number of baptisms immediately after the conquest. With respect to the numbers at their markets, and of their armies, we have said enough in our history on the faith of many eyewitnesses. We might suspect, that the conquerors had exaggerated the number of the Indian troops, in order to make their conquest appear more glorious, but this would appear only when they reckoned the number of the troops of the enemy, not when they counted their own allies, as the more the number of the latter was increased, their conquests became the less difficult and glorious. The

(*i*) Cortes speaks of this city without naming it, but it appears from the context to have been the same; and Torquemada mentions it expressly.

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conqueror Ojeda, however, numbered an hundred and fifty thousand men among the allied troops of Tlascala, Cholula, Tepeyacac, and Huexotzinco, in the review which was made of them in Tlascala, as they were going to the siege of Mexico. Cortes himself affirms, that the allied troops who accompanied him to the war of Quauquechollan exceeded an hundred thousand, and that those which assisted him in besieging the capital, exceeded considerably two hundred thousand in number. On the other hand, the besieged were so numerous, that although an hundred and fifty thousand died during the siege, as we have already said, when the capital was taken by the Spaniards, and it was ordered that all the Mexicans should leave it for three successive days and nights, the streets and roads were filled with people who were leaving the city to take refuge in other places, according to the testimony of B. Diaz, an eye-witness. With respect to the number of baptisms, we are assured, by the testimony of the religious missionaries themselves, who were employed in the conversion of those people, that the children and grown persons baptized by the Franciscan(*k*) fathers alone, from the year 1524 to the year 1540, were upwards of six millions in number; who were, for the most part, inhabitants of the vale of Mexico and the circumjacent provinces. In this number are not comprehended those who were baptized by the priests, Dominicans, and Augustinians, amongst whom, and the Franciscans, were divided those most abundant harvests; and besides, it is certain that the Indians were innumerable who remained obstinate in their paganism, or did not receive the Christian faith till many years after the conquest. We know also, from the noisy controversies excited there by some religious, and reported to the pope Paul III. that on account of the extraordinary and before unseen multitude of catechumens, the missionaries were obliged to omit some ceremonies of the baptism, and amongst others the use of their spittle, because, from doing it so much, they dried up and almost excoriated their mouths, their tongues, and their throats.

From the discovery of Mexico till now the number of the Indians has been gradually diminishing. Besides the many thousands which

(*k*) Motolinia, one of the religious missionaries, baptized more than four hundred thousand Indians; an account of which he left in writing.

perished by the first contagion of the small-pox, carried there in 1520, and in the war of the Spaniards, in the epidemic of 1545 eighty thousand perished, and in that of 1576, upwards of two millions, in the dioceses alone of Mexico, Angelopoli, Michuacan, and Guaxaca, which is known by the bills of mortality presented by every curate to the viceroy. Notwithstanding Herrera, who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century, reports, on the faith of authentic documents sent him by the viceroy of Mexico, that in the dioceses alone of Mexico, Angelopoli, and Guaxaca, and in those provinces of the diocese of Mexico which were circumjacent to the capital, there were, at that time, six hundred and fifty-five principal settlements of Indians, and innumerable other smaller ones dependant upon them; in which were contained ninety thousand Indian families of tributaries. But it is necessary to be known, in those are not included the nobles, nor the Tascalans, and other Indians who assisted the Spaniards in the conquest; for in respect to their birth, or the services which they rendered the conquerors, they were exempted from tributes. Herrera, who was well informed on this subject, affirms, that in those times, four thousand Spanish families, and thirty thousand Indian houses, were counted in the capital. From that time the number of Indians has gradually been diminishing, and the number of the whites or Spaniards has been increasing.

M. de Paw will answer, according to his style, that all the proofs which we have adduced to demonstrate the population of Mexico, are of no weight, for they are obtained from soldiers who were rude and illiterate, or from ignorant and superstitious ecclesiastics; but if this was the character of all the writers we have quoted, their testimony would be still of great force because of their uniformity. Who can believe that Cortes, and the other officers who subscribed his letters, should deceive their king, where they could have been so easily detected by hundreds of witnesses, and not a few enemies? Is it possible that so many Spanish and Indian writers should all agree to exaggerate the population of those countries, and not one amongst them shew some respect for posterity? Of the veracity of the first missionaries there can be no doubt. They were men of exemplary life and much learning, selected from amongst many to promulgate the gospel in the new

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world. Some of them had been professors in the most celebrated universities of Europe; had obtained the first rank in their orders, and merited the favour and confidence of the emperor Charles V. Those honours which they resigned in Europe, and those which they never received in America, clearly demonstrated their disinterested zeal; their voluntary and rigid poverty, their continual treaty with the great Being of nature, their incredible fatigues in so many long and difficult journeys on foot, without provisions, in laborious service, and still more their excessive charity, mildness, and compassion, towards those afflicted nations; will make their memory ever venerated in that kingdom. In the writings of those immortal men, so many characters of sincerity are discovered, that we are not permitted to entertain the least doubt of their accounts. It is true, they committed a heavy sin, in the judgment of M. de Paw, in burning the greater part of the historical paintings of the Mexicans, because they thought them full of superstition. We valued still more than M. de Paw those paintings, and lament their loss; but we neither despise the authors of that unfortunate burning, nor curse their memory; because the evil which their intemperate and heedless zeal made them commit, is not to be compared with the good which they did; besides, they endeavoured to repair the loss by their works, particularly Motolinia, Sahagun, Olmos, and Torquemada.

M. de Paw has gone so far to lessen the population of those countries, that he has dared to affirm (who could believe it) in a decisive magisterial tone, that in all those regions there was no city but Mexico. Let us attend to him purely for amusement. "So that as there are
"not," he says, "the least vestiges of the Indian cities in all the
"kingdom of Mexico, it is manifest that there was no more than
"one place which had any appearance of a city, and this was Mexico,
"which the Spanish writers would call the Babylon of the Indies;
"but it is now a long time since they have been able to deceive us
"with the magnificent names they gave to the miserable hamlets of
"America."

But all the authors who have written on Mexico unanimously affirm, that all the nations of that vast empire lived in societies; that they had many well-peopled, large, well-laid out settlements; name the cities

which they saw; and they who travelled through those regions two centuries and a half after the conquest, saw the same settlements in the places mentioned by those writers; so that M. de Paw is either persuaded that those writers prophetically announced the future population of those places, or he must confess that they have been from that time where they are at present. It is true that the Spaniards founded many settlements, such as the cities of Angelopoli, Guadalaxara, Valladolid, Veracruz, Zelaja, Potosi, Cordova, Leone, &c.; but the settlements made by them in the districts of the Mexican empire with respect to those made by the Indians are as one to a thousand. The Mexican names given to those settlements are still preserved to this day, and demonstrate that the original founders of them were not Spaniards but Indians. That those places of which we have made frequent mention in this history were not miserable villages, but cities, and large well formed settlements, such as those of Europe, is certified by the united testimony of all writers who saw them.

M. de Paw is desirous of being shown the vestiges of these ancient cities; but we could show him more than that, the ancient cities now existing. However, if he chooses to see traces of them he may go to Tezcuco, Otumba, Tlascala, Cholula, Huexotzinco, Chempoalla, Tulla, &c.; where he will find so many, that he will have no doubt of the ancient greatness of those American cities.

This great number of towns and inhabited places, although so many thousands perished annually in the sacrifices and continual wars of those nations, gives us clearly to understand the vast population of the Mexican empire, and the other countries of Anahuac; but if all this which we have said is not sufficient to convince M. de Paw, in charity we advise him to enter into an hospital.

What we have applied against M. de Paw may serve likewise to refute Dr. Robertson, who, seeing so many eye-witnesses contrary to him in opinion, recurs to a subterfuge similar to that of the warmth of the imagination which he made use of to deny faith to the Spanish historians respecting what they said of the excellence of the Mexican labours of cast metal. Treating of the wonder which the sight of the cities of Mexico caused to the Spaniards, in his seventh book, he says, "In the first fervour of their imagination, they compared Chempoalla,

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“ though a town only of the second or third size, to the cities of
 “ greatest note in their own country. When afterwards they visited
 “ in succession Tlascala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tescuco, and Mexico itself,
 “ their amazement was so great, that it led them to convey ideas of their
 “ magnitude and populousness bordering on what is incredible. . . . For
 “ this reason, some considerable abatement ought to be made from their
 “ calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities; and
 “ we may fix the standard of their population much lower than they
 “ have done.”

Thus Robertson commands, but we are not disposed to obey him. If the Spaniards had written their histories, letters, or relations, *in the first fervour of their admiration*, we might then justly suspect that stupefaction had led them to exaggerate; but it was not so; for Cortes, the most ancient of those writers, did not write his first letter to Charles V. till a year and a half after his arrival in that country; the anonymous conqueror wrote some years after the conquest; B. Diaz, after forty years continual residence in those countries; and the others in like manner. Is it possible that this *fervour of their admiration* should endure for one, twenty, and even forty years afterwards? But whence arose such wonder in them? Let us hear it from Dr. Robertson himself. “ The Spaniards, accustomed to this mode of habitation among all the Indians with which they were then acquainted, were astonished, on entering New Spain, to find the natives residing in towns of such extent as resembled those of Europe.” But Cortes and his companions, before they went to Mexico, knew very well that those people were not savage tribes, and that their houses were not huts; they had heard from those who, a year before, had made the same voyage with Grijalva, that there were beautiful settlements there, consisting of houses of stone and lime, with high towers to them; as Bernal Diaz attests, who was an eye-witness. That, therefore, was not the occasion of their wonder, but it was the real largeness and multitude of the cities which they saw. “ It is not surprising, then,” adds Robertson, “ that Cortes and his companions, little accustomed to such computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own discoveries and conquests, should have been betrayed into this common error, and have raised their descriptions

“considerably above truth.” But Cortes was not so weak, and saw very well that the exaggeration of the number of his allies, far from raising the merit, served rather to diminish the glory of his conquests. He often confesses that he was assisted in the siege by eighty, and sometimes an hundred, and two hundred thousand men; and as those ingenuous confessions discover his sincerity, in the same manner those numerous armies demonstrate the population of those countries. Besides, Dr. Robertson supposes, when the Spanish writers wrote concerning the number of the houses of the Mexican cities, it was only expressed by conjecture, and the judgment which they had formed by the eye; but this was not the case, for Cortes affirms, in his first letter to the emperor Charles V. that he ordered the houses, which belonged to the district of Tlascala to be numbered, and found there was an hundred and fifty thousand, and in the single city of Tlascala more than twenty thousand.

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DISSERTATION VIII.

On the Religion of the Mexicans.

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WE have nothing to say in this Dissertation as we had in the others to M. de Paw, as he ingeniously acknowledges the resemblance there is between the delirium of the Americans and that of other nations of the old continent in matters of religion. “As,” he says, “the religious superstitions of the people of America (*l*) have had a sensible resemblance to those which other nations of the old continent have entertained, he has not spoken of those absurdities, but to make a comparison of them, and in order to observe that, notwithstanding the diversity of climes, the weakness of the human spirit has been constant and unvariable.” If he had delivered himself with the same judgment in other respects, he would have saved much contention, and preserved his work from those heavy censures which have been made on it by many wise men of Europe. We direct this Dissertation, therefore, to those who, from ignorance of what has passed and passes at present in the world, or from want of reflection, have made much wonder in reading in the history of Mexico at the cruelty and superstition of those people, as if such things had been never heard of among mortals. We shall make their error conspicuous, and shew that the religion of the Mexicans was less superstitious, less indecent, less childish, and less unreasonable than that of the most cultivated nations of ancient Europe; and that there have been examples of cruelty, perhaps more cruel, amongst all other nations of the world.

The system of natural religion depends principally on that idea which is formed of the Divinity. If the Supreme Being is conceived to be a Father full of goodness, whose providence watches over his creatures, love and respect will appear in the exercise of such religion.

(*l*) In the preface to *Recherches Philosophiques*.

If, on the contrary, he is imagined to be an inexorable tyrant, his worship will be bloody. If he is conceived to be omnipotent, veneration will be paid to one alone; but if his power is conceived to be confined, the objects of worship will be multiplied. If the sanctity and perfection of his being is acknowledged, his protection will be implored in a pure and holy service; but if he is supposed subject to imperfections, and the vices of men, religion itself will sanctify crimes.

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Let us compare the idea, therefore, which the Mexicans had of their gods with that which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations from whom they learned their religion, had of their deities, and we shall discover the superiority of the Mexicans, in this matter, over all those ancient nations. It is true, that the Mexicans divided power among various deities, imagining the jurisdiction of each to be restricted. "I do not doubt," Montezuma used to say to Cortes, in their conferences on religion, "I do not doubt of the goodness of the God whom you adore, but if he is good for Spain our gods are equally good so for Mexico."

"Our god *Camaxtle*," the Tlascalans used to say to Cortes, "grants us victory over our enemies; our goddess *Matlalcueje* sends the necessary rain to our fields, and defends us from the inundation of Zahuapan. To each of our gods we are indebted for a part of the happiness of our life." But they never believed their gods so impotent as the Greeks and Romans believed theirs. The Mexicans had more than one deity under the name of *Centeotl* who took care of the country and the fields, and although they were so fond of their children they had but one god for their protection. The Romans, besides the goddess *Ceres*, had a crowd of deities for the care of the fields alone (*m*), and for the guard and education of their children upwards of twenty, besides a number which were employed in the generation and

(*m*) *Seja* was charged with the grain which was newly sown, *Proserpina* with the grain which was just sprung, *Nodotus* with the knots on the stem, *Volatina* with the eyes on buds, *Patelena* with the leaves which were spread, *Flora* with the flowers, *Sejesta* with the new grains, *Lactantia* with the grain yet milky, *Matuta* with the ripe grain, *Tutanus* or *Tutilina* with the grain in the granary; to all whom we ought to add the god *Sterculius* who attended the manuring of the fields, *Priapus* who defended the grain from the birds, *Rubigo* who defended it from insects, and the nymphs *Napivæ* who had the care of its nutritive juices.

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birth of infants (*n*). Who would believe that they would have occasion for their gods merely to guard their doors? Forculus was charged with the door posts, Carna with the hinge, and Lamentinus with the threshold. "Ita," exclaims St. Augustin, "ita non poterat, Forculus simul fores, et cardinem limenque servare." So wretched was the power of the gods in the judgment of the Romans! Even the names by which some of them were called shew the pitiful conception entertained of them by their adorers. What names more unworthy of divinity than those of Jupiter Pistor, Venus Calva, Pecunia Caca, Subigus and Cloacina? Who would ever think that a statue formed by Tatius in the principal sink of Rome was to become a goddess with the name of Cloacina? This was certainly a mockery of their religion, and rendering the very gods whom they adored, vile and contemptible.

But the Greeks and Romans shewed the opinion they had of their gods in nothing more strongly than the vices which they ascribed to them. Their whole mythology is a long series of crimes: the whole life of their gods was composed of enmities, revenge, incest, adultery, and other base passions, capable of defaming the most degenerate of men. Jove, that omnipotent father, that beginning of all things, that king of men and of gods as the poets call him, appears sometimes disguised as a man to treat with Alcumena, sometimes as a satyr to enjoy Antiope, sometimes as a bull to ravish Europa, sometimes as a swan to abuse Leda, and sometimes in a shower of gold to corrupt Danae, and at other times assumes other forms to accomplish his guilty designs. In the mean time the great goddess Juno, mad with jealousy, thinks of nothing but having revenge of her disloyal husband. Of the same stamp were the other immortal gods; especially the *dii majores*, or select gods, as they were called by them; select, says St. Augustin,

(*n*) The goddess *Opis* was charged with giving assistance to the child which was delivering, and to receive it in her lap, *Vaticanus* to open its mouth to cry, *Levana* to raise it from the ground, *Cunina* to watch the cradle, the *Curmentes* to announce its destiny, *Fortuna* to favour it in all accidents, *Rumina* to introduce the nipple of the mother's breast into the mouth of the child, *Potina* took care of its drink, *Educa* of its pap, *Faventia* wiped its slabberings, *Venilia* had to cherish its hopes, *Volupta* to attend its pleasures, *Agenorina* to watch its motions, *Stimula* to make it active, *Strenus* to make it courageous, *Numeria* to teach it numbers, *Canena* singing, *Conso* to give it counsel, *Seneca* resolution, *Juventa* had charge of its youth, and *Fortuna Barbata* was enjoined that important office of making hair grow upon adults.

for the superiority of their vices, not for the excellence of their virtues. But what good examples could those nations imitate in the gods, who, while they boasted to teach virtue to men, had nothing consecrated but their vices? What merits obtained deification to Leena among the Greeks, and to Lupa Faula and Faula among the Romans, but that of having been famous courtezans? From thence sprung various deities, charged with the most infamous and shameful employments.

But what shall we say of the Egyptians, who were the first authors of superstition (o)? They not only paid worship to the ox, dog, cat, crocodile, hawk, and other such animals, but likewise to leeks, onions, and garlick, which was the occasion of that satirical saying of Juvenal, *O sanctas gentes quibus hic nascuntur in hortis Numina!* and, not contented with that, they deified likewise the most indecent things. That custom of marrying with their sisters was imagined to be authorized by the example of their gods.

The Mexicans entertained very different ideas of their deities. We do not find, in all their mythology, any traces of that excess of depravity which characterized the gods of other nations. The Mexicans honoured the virtues not the vices of their divinities: the bravery of Huitzilopochtli, the beneficence of Centeotl, Tzapotlatman, and Opochtli, and others, and the chastity, justice, and prudence of Quetzalcoatli. Although they feigned deities of both sexes, they did not marry them, nor believe them capable of those obscene pleasures which were so common among the Greeks and Romans. The Mexicans imagined they had a strong aversion to every species of vice, therefore their worship was calculated to appease the anger of their deities, provoked by the guilt of men, and to procure their protection by repentance and religious respect.

The rites observed by those nations were entirely agreeable to the idea they had of their gods. Superstition was common to them all, but that of the Mexicans was less, and not so puerile; this the comparison of their auguries will be sufficient to shew. The Mexican diviners observed the signs or characters of the days concerning marriages, journeys, &c. as the European astrologers observed the position of the

(o) Nos in Templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin.
Semicanesque Deos et Sistra moventia luctum. *Lucanus.*

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stars, to foretel from thence the fortunes of men. Both of them were equally fearful of eclipses and comets, as they suspected them the forerunners of great calamities. This superstition has been common to all the people of the world. They were also all afraid of the voice of the owl, or any other such bird. These and other such superstitions have been general, and are still common to the vulgar of the old and new continents, even in the centre of most cultivated Europe. But all which we know of those American nations in this matter, is not to be compared with that which we are told of the ancient Romans by their poets and historians. The works of Livy, Pliny, Virgil, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and other judicious authors, which cannot be read without smiling, shew us to what excess the childish superstition of the Romans arrived. No animal among the quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds, was not employed to foretel future events. If a bird flew towards the left hand, if the raven croaked, if they heard the voice of the crow, if a mouse tasted honey, if a hare passed across the road, all those incidents were prognostics of some great calamity. Formerly there was a lustration made of all Rome for no other reason than because an owl entered the Capitol (*p*). Not only animals, but also trivial and contemptible circumstances were sufficient to excite superstitious dread; as the spilling of wine or salt, or the falling of some meat from table. Who would not have been amazed to contemplate the aruspices, persons of such high respect, seriously occupied in examining the movements of the victims, the state of their entrails, and colour of their blood, to prognosticate from those signs the principal events of that famous republic? "I wonder," said the great Cicero, "that an aruspex does not smile when he views another of his own profession." What can be more ridiculous than that kind of augury which was called *tripudium*? Who would have imagined that a nation in some respects so enlightened, and also so warlike, should carry along with their armies, as the most important thing to the success of their arms, a cage of chickens, and dare not to begin the battle without consulting them? If the chickens did not taste the food which was put before

(*p*) Bubo funebris et maxime abominatus publicis precipue auspiciis. . . Capitolii cellam ipsam intravit. Sex. Papellio Istro L. Pedanis Coss. propter quod nonis Martiis urbs lustrata est eo anno. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 12.

them it was a bad omen; if, besides not eating it, they escaped out of the cage, it was worse; if, on the contrary, they eat greedily, the augury was most happy; so that the most effectual means to secure victory would have been to keep the chickens without food, until they were consulted.

To such excesses is the spirit of man led, when resigned to the capricious dictates of passion, or stimulated by fears arising from a sense of his own weakness.

But Americans, Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, were all superstitious and puerile in the practice of their religion; not so, however, in the obscenity of their rites, because we find not the least traces in the rites of the Mexicans, of those abominable customs which were so common among the Romans and other nations of antiquity. What could be more indecent than the Eleusinian feasts which the Greeks made, or those which the Romans celebrated in honour of Venus, in the calends of April, and above all others those very obscene games which they exhibited in honour of Cybele, Flora, Bacchus, and other such false deities? What rite could be more obscene than that which was observed on the statue of Priapus, among the nuptial ceremonies? How could they celebrate the festivals of such incestuous and adulterous gods but with such obscene practices? How was it possible they should have been ashamed of those vices which they saw sanctioned by their own divinities?

It is true, that although nothing obscene mingled with the rites of the Mexicans, some of them were such, as on the supposition of the divinity of their gods would have been very indecent, namely that of anointing the lips of the idols with the blood of the victims: but would it not have been more indecent to have given them blows, as the Romans gave the goddess Matuta at the *Matral* feasts? Considering the error of both, the Mexicans were certainly more rational by giving their gods a liquor to taste which they imagined was acceptable to them, than the Romans by executing an action upon their goddess which has been esteemed highly insulting among all nations of the world.

What we have said hitherto, though sufficient to shew that the religion of the Mexicans was less exceptionable than that of the Romans,

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Greeks, or Egyptians, we are sensible that the comparison between them ought not to have been solely with respect to the above articles, but rather with respect to the nature of their sacrifices. We confess, that the religion of the Mexicans was bloody, that their sacrifices were most cruel, and their austerities beyond measure barbarous; but whenever we consider what other nations of the world have done, we are confounded at viewing the weakness of the human mind, and the series of errors into which they have fallen from their miserable systems of religion.

There has been no nation in the world which has not at some time sacrificed human victims to that god whom they adored. We know from the sacred writings, that the Ammonites burned some of their sons in honour of their god Moloch, and that other people of Canaan did the same, whose example was followed by the Israelites. It appears from the fourth book of the Kings, that Achaz and Manasseh, kings of Judea, used that pagan rite of passing their sons through the fire. The expression of the sacred text appears rather to signify a mere lustration or consecration, than a burnt-offering, but the hundred and fifth Psalm does not leave a doubt that the Israelites sacrificed their children to the gods of the Canaanites. Of the Egyptians we know, from Manetho, a priest and celebrated historian of that nation, cited by Eusebius Cæsariensis, that daily three men were sacrificed in Eliopolis to the goddess Juno alone, in like manner as the Ammonites sacrificed human victims to their Moloch, and the Canaanites to their Beelfegor; the Persians sacrificed to their Mitra or sun, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to their Baal or Saturn, the Cretans to Jove, the Lacedæmonians to Mars, the Phocians to Diana, the Lesbians to Bacchus, the Thessalians to the Centaur Chiron and Pelcus, the Gauls to *Eso* and *Teutate* (*q*), the *Burdi* of Germany to *Tuiston*, and other na-

(*q*) A certain French author, through a blind attachment to his native country, hardily denies that human victims were ever sacrificed by the Gauls; but he adduces no authority to confute the testimony of Pliay, Sentonius, Diodorus, and in particular Cæsar, who was well acquainted with the Gauls, and knew their customs. “*Natio est omni Gallorum,*” he says, “*admodum dedita religionibus, atque ob eam causam qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, que in prælio periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolatu- ros vorent, administris ad ea sacrificia Dividibus; quod pro vita hominis, nisi vita hominis red- datur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen pacari arbitrantur, publiceque ejusdem*

tions to their tutelar gods. Philon says that the Phœnicians in public calamities offered in sacrifice to their inhuman Baal their dearest sons, and Curtius affirms that such sacrifices were in use among the Tyrians until the ruin of their famous city. The same did the Carthaginians with their countrymen in honour of Saturn the *cruel*. We know that when they were vanquished by Agathocles, king of Syracuse, with a view to appease their deities, whom they believed incensed, they sacrificed two hundred noble children, besides three hundred youths who spontaneously offered themselves for sacrifice, to shew their bravery, their piety towards the gods, and their love to their country; and, as Tertullian affirms, who was an African, and lived little later than that epoch of which we are speaking, and therefore ought to know it well, sacrifices were used in Africa until the time of the emperor Tiberius, as in Gaul till the time of Claudian, as Suetonius reports.

The Pelasgians, the ancient inhabitants of Italy, sacrificed a tythe of their children, in order to comply with an oracle, as is related by D. Halicarnasseus. The Romans, who were as sanguinary as they were superstitious, did not abstain from such kind of sacrifices. All the time they were under the government of their kings, they sacrificed young children to the goddess Mania, mother of the *Lares*, for the prosperity of their houses, to which they were directed by a certain oracle of Apollo, as Macrobius says; and we know from Pliny, that human sacrifices were not forbid until the year 657 of Rome; but notwithstanding this prohibition, those examples of barbarous superstition did not cease; since Augustus, as authors cited by Suetonius affirm, after the taking of Perusia, where the consul, L. Antony, had fortified himself, sacrificed in honour of his uncle Julius Cæsar, who was by this time deified by the

“genuis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii inmani magnitudine simulacra habent; quorum
 “contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent quibus succensis circumventi stamma
 “examinantur homines. Supplicia eorum qui in sinto aut Latiscinio aut aliqua noxa sint
 “comprehensi gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur. Sed cum ejus generis copia deficit,
 etiam ad innocentiam supplicia descendunt. Lib. vi. de Bello Gallico, cap. 5. From this it
 appears the Gauls were more cruel than the Mexicans.

(r) DCLVII. demum anno urbis Cn. Corn. Lentulo. P. Licinio Coss. Senatus consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

(s) Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit; orare veniam, vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, moriendum esse. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram D. Julio exstructam Idib. Martii victimarum more mactatos. Suetonius in Octaviano.

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Romans, three hundred men, partly senators and partly Roman knights, upon an altar erected to that new deity. Lactantius, who was a man well instructed in the affairs of the Romans, who flourished in the fourth century of the church, says expressly, that even in his time, those sacrifices were made to Jupiter Latialis (*l*). Nor were the Spaniards free from this barbarous superstition. Strabo recounts, in book iii that the Lusitanians sacrificed prisoners, cut off their right hand to consecrate it to their gods, observed their entrails, and examined them for auguries; that all the inhabitants of the mountains used to sacrifice prisoners as well as horses, offering their victims by hundreds at a time to the god Mars; and speaking in general, he says, it was peculiar to the Spaniards to sacrifice themselves for their friends. This is not very different from what Silius Italicus reports of the *Betivi*, his ancestors, which is, that after they had passed the age of youth, grown weary of life, they committed suicide; and which he praises as an heroic action. Who would believe, that ancient custom of Betica would be revived at this time in England and France. To come to later times, Mariana, in speaking of the Goths, who occupied Spain, writes thus: "Because they were persuaded that the war would never be prosperous when they did not make an offering of human blood for the army, they sacrificed the prisoners of war to the god Mars, to whom they were principally devoted, and used also to offer him the first of the spoils, and suspend from the trunks of trees the skins of those whom they had slain." If those Spaniards who wrote the history of Mexico, had not forgotten this, which happened to their own peninsula, they would not have wondered so much at the sacrifices of the Mexicans.

Whoever would wish to see more examples, may consult Eusebius of Cæsarea, in book iv. *de Preparatione Evangelica*, where he gives a long detail of the nations by whom such barbarous sacrifices were practised: what we have said is enough to shew that the Mexicans have done nothing but trod in the steps of the most celebrated nations of the old continent, and that their rites were neither more cruel, nor less rational. It is, perhaps, greater cruelty and inhumanity to sacrifice

(*l*) Lactantius, Instit. Divin. lib. i. cap. 21.

fellow-citizens, children, and themselves, as the greater part of those nations did, than to sacrifice prisoners of war as was practised among the Mexicans. The Mexicans were never known to sacrifice their own countrymen, unless it was those who forfeited their lives by their crimes; or the wives of nobles, that they might accompany their husbands to the other world. That answer which Montezuma gave to Cortes, who reproached him for the cruelty of the Mexican sacrifices, shews us that although their sentiments were not just, they were less inconsistent than those of other nations who had fallen into the same superstitions. "We," he said, "have a right to take away the life of our enemies; we could kill them in the heat of battle, as you do your enemies. What injustice is there in making them, who are condemned to death, die in honour of our gods."

The frequency of such sacrifices was certainly not less in Egypt, Italy, Spain, and Gaul, than in Mexico. If in the city of Eliopolis alone, they annually sacrificed, as Manetho says, more than a thousand victims to the goddess Juno; how many must have been sacrificed in the other cities of Egypt to the famous goddess Isis, and other innumerable deities, adored by that most superstitious nation? How frequent must they have been among the Pelasgians, who sacrificed a tenth part of their children to their gods? What numbers of men must have been consumed in those hecatombs of the ancient Spaniards? And what shall we say of the Gauls, who, after having sacrificed prisoners of war and malefactors, made also innocent citizens die in sacrifice, as Cæsar relates? The number of the Mexican sacrifices has certainly been exaggerated by the Spanish historians, as we have already observed.

The very humane Romans, who had scruples in observing human entrails, although at the end of six centuries and a half after the foundation of their famous metropolis they forbid the sacrifices of men, still permitted with great frequency the gladiatorial sacrifices. So we call those barbarous combats, which, as well as serving for the amusement of that fierce people, were likewise prescribed by their religion. Besides the great quantity of blood spilt at the Circensian games, and at banquets, there was not a little also shed at the funerals of wealthy persons, either of gladiators, or prisoners who were put to death to appease the manes of the deceased; and they were

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so firmly persuaded of the necessity of some human blood being spilt for this purpose, that when the circumstances of the dead could not bear the expence of gladiators or prisoners, *presicæ* were paid, that they might draw blood from their cheeks with their nails. How many victims must thus have fallen by the superstition of the Romans, at their funerals, especially as they vied with each other who should exceed in the number of gladiators and prisoners whose blood was to celebrate the funeral pomp? It was this bloody disposition of the Romans which made such havoc on the people of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and which, besides overflowed Rome with the blood of its own citizens, especially during those horrid proscriptions which sullied the glory of that famous republic.

The Mexicans were not only inhuman towards their prisoners, but likewise towards themselves, by their barbarous austerities mentioned in this history. But the drawing of blood with the prickles of the aloes from their tongues, arms, and legs, as they all did, and the boring their tongue with pieces of cane, as the most austere amongst them used to do, will appear but slight mortifications compared with those dreadful and unheard of austerities executed upon themselves by penitents of the East-Indies and Japan, which cannot be read without horror. Who will ever think of comparing the inhumanities of the most famous *Tlamacazqui* of Mexico, and *Tlascala*, with those of the priests of *Bellona* and *Cybele* (*u*)? When did the Mexicans tear their limbs, or their flesh, with their teeth, or castrate themselves in honour of their gods, as those priests did in honour of *Cybele*?

Lastly, the Mexicans, not content with sacrificing human victims, eat also their flesh. We confess in this their inhumanity surpassed other

(*u*) *Deæ Magnæ Sacerdotes, qui Galli vocabantur, vilitia sibi amputabant, & furore perciti caput rotabant cultrisque faciem musculosque totius corporis dissecabant: morsibus quoque se ipsos impetebant. August. de Civ. Dei. lib. ii. cap. 7.*

Ille viriles sibi partes amputat, ille lacertos secat. Ubi iratos Deos timent, qui sic propitios merentur? . . . Tantus est perturbatæ mentis & sedibus suis pulsæ furor, ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt terribim, & in fabulas traditi crudelitatis Tyranni laceraverunt aliquorum membra; neminem sua lacerare jusserunt. In regia libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, jubem e domino manus intulit. Se ipsi in templis contrucidant; vulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant. Si cui intueri vacet quæ faciunt, quæque patiuntur, inveniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus furerent; nunc sanitatis patrociniū insanientium turba est. Seneca, lib. de Superstit.

nations; but examples of this kind have not been so rare even among cultivated nations of the old continent, as to make the Mexicans be classed with nations absolutely barbarous. That horrible custom, says the historian Solis, of men eating each other, was seen first among the barbarians in our hemisphere, as is confessed by Gallicia, in his Annals. Besides the ancient Africans, whose descendants at this day are in part cannibals, it is certain, that many of those nations which were formerly known by the name of Scythians, and also the ancient inhabitants of Sicily, and the continent of Italy, as Pliny and other authors say, were men-eaters likewise. Of the Jews who lived in the times of Antiochus, *the illustrious* Appian, an Egyptian, not Greek writer, as M. de Paw says, has written, that they used to keep a Greek prisoner to eat him at the end of one year. Livy says of the famous Hannibal, that he made his soldiers eat human flesh to encourage them to war. Pliny severely censures the Greeks for their custom of eating all the parts of the human body, to cure themselves of different distempers (x). Is there any wonder, then, that the Mexicans should do that from a motive of religion, which the Greeks observed as a rule of medicine? But we do not pretend to apologise for them on this head. Their religion, with respect to Canibalism, was certainly more barbarous than that of the Romans, Egyptians, or those other cultivated nations; but, at the same time, in other points, it is not to be denied, that it was less superstitious, less absurd, and less indecent.

(x) Quis invenit singula membra humana mandere? Qua conjectura inductus? Quam potest medicina ista originem habuisse? Quis veneficia innocentiora fecit quam remedia? Esto, barbari externique ritus invenerint; etiam ne Græci suas fecere has artes? &c. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. cap. 1.*

DISSERTATION IX.

On the Origin of the French Evil.

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IX. **I**N the present Dissertation we have not only to dispute with M. de Paw, but also with almost all Europeans, who are generally persuaded that the French evil had its origin in America; for some nations of Europe having reciprocally accused each other of propagating this opprobrious distemper, at last agreed to charge it upon the new world. We should certainly deserve to be taxed with rashness in combating so universal an opinion, if the arguments which we are to offer, and the example of two modern Europeans, did not render our attempt pardonable (a). As among the supporters of the common opinion, the principal, the most renowned, and he who has written most copiously and learnedly upon the subject, is M. Astruc, a learned French physician: he will necessarily be principally opposed by us; for which purpose we shall make use of those very materials which his work presents to us (b).

S E C T. I.

The Opinion of the first Physicians concerning the Origin of the French Evil.

DURING the first thirty years after the French evil began to be known in Italy, there was not a single author, as we shall mention afterwards, who ascribed the origin of it to America. All the authors

(a) These two authors are William Becket, a Surgeon of London, and Antonio Ribero Sanchez. Becket wrote three Dissertations, which were inserted in vol. xxx. and xxxi. of the Philosophical Transactions, to prove, that the French evil was known in England as far back as the fourteenth century. Ribero wrote a Dissertation, which was printed in Paris, with this title, *Dissertation sur l'Origine de la Maladie Venerienne, dans laquelle on prouve qu'elle n'a point été portée de l'Amerique*. Having read the title of this Dissertation in the Catalogue of Spanish books and manuscripts, prefixed to Dr. Robertson's History of America, we sought for it in Rome, in Genoa, and Venice, but without success.

(b) De Morbis Venereis, vol. ii. Venice edition.

who wrote upon it, before 1525, and even some of those who wrote after, attributed it to different causes, the mention of which will excite the smiles and pity of our readers.

Some of the first physicians then living, namely, Corradino Gillini, and Gaspare Torella, were persuaded, according to the ideas of those times, that the French evil was occasioned by the near conjunction of the Sun with Jupiter, Saturn, and Mercury, in the sign of Libra, which happened in 1483.

Others, in agreement with the opinion of the celebrated Nicolaus Leoniceus (c), attributed it to the very abundant rains and inundations which happened in Italy that year in which the contagion began.

G. Manardi, a learned professor of the university of Ferrara, ascribed the origin of the evil to the impure commerce of a Valentian gentleman, who was leprous, with a courtesan; and Paracelsus, to the commerce of a French person, who was also leprous, with a prostitute. Antonia Musa Brasavola, a learned Ferrarese, affirms, that the French evil took its beginning from a courtesan, in the army of the French in Naples, who had an abscess in the mouth of the *uterus*:

Gab. Fallopio, a celebrated Modenese physician, affirms, that the Spaniards, being few in number in the war of Naples, and the French extremely numerous, one night poisoned the water of the wells, of which their enemies were to drink, and that from thence the distemper arose.

Andrea Cesalpino, physician to Clement VIII. says, he knew from those who were present at the war of Naples, when the French besieged Somma, a place of Vesuvius, where there is a great abundance of excellent Greek wine; that the Spaniards escaped one night in secret, leaving behind them a great quantity of that wine, mixed with the blood of the sick of San Lazaro, and that the French when they entered that place drank of this wine, and soon after felt the effects of the venereal disorder.

(c) Itaque dicimus, malum hoc, quod *morbum Gallicum* vulgo appellant inter epidemias debere connumerari . . . Illud satis constat, eo anno magnam aquarum per universam Italiam fuisse exuberantiam . . . aestivam autem ad illam venisse intemperiem calidam scilicet & humidam, &c. *Opusc. de Morbo Gallico.*

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Leonardo Fioravanti, a learned Bolognese physician, says in his work, entitled *Capricci Medicinali*, that he was informed by the son of one who had been sutler to the army of Alfonso, king of Naples, about the year 1456, that the army of the king, as well as the French, becoming short of provisions from the length of the war, the sutler supplied them both with dressed human flesh, and that from thence sprung the French evil. The celebrated chancellor Bacon, lord Verulam, adds (*d*), that the flesh supplied them, was of men killed in Barbary, which they prepared like the tunny fish.

As no body knew, nor could know, who was the first in Europe that suffered that great evil, neither can we know the cause of it: but let us attend to what may have happened.

S E C T. II.

The French Evil could be communicated to Europe from other Countries of the old Continent.

TO prove that the French evil could be communicated by means of contagion to Europe, from other countries of the same continent, it is necessary, but will be also sufficient to shew that that evil was first felt in some of those countries, and that they had commerce with Europe before the new world was discovered. Both of these points shall be fully demonstrated.

Vatablo, Pineda, Calmet, and other authors, have maintained, that among the distempers with which Job was afflicted, the French evil was one. This opinion is so ancient, that as soon as that evil appeared in Italy, some called it the evil of Job, as Battista Fulgosio, an author then living, attests (*e*). Calmet attempts (*f*) to prove his opinion with a great deal of erudition; but as we know nothing of the complaints of Job, except what is mentioned in the sacred books, which may easily be conceived to speak of other distempers then known, or of some one entirely unknown to us, we can therefore build little on this opinion.

(*d*) *Sylva Sylvarum* centur. 1. art. 26.

(*e*) In a work entitled *Dicta Factaque Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 4.

(*f*) *Dissert. in Morbum Jobi*.

Andrè Thevet, a French geographer (*g*), and other authors, affirm, that the French evil was endemic in the internal provinces of Africa, situate on both sides of the river Senegal.

And Cleyer, first physician of the Dutch colony, in the island of Java, says (*h*), that the venereal disease was proper and natural to that isle, and as common as the quotidian fever. Thuanus has affirmed the same thing (*i*).

J. Bonzius, physician to the Dutch in the East-Indies, testifies, that (*k*) that distemper was endemic in Amboyna and the Moluccas, and that it was not necessary to have any previous carnal commerce to catch the infection. This was confirmed in part by the account of the companions of Magellan, the first who made the tour of the world in the famous vessel, *Victory*, who attested, as Herrera says (*l*), that they found in Timor, an island of the Moluccan Archipelago, a great number of the islanders infected with the French evil; which was certainly neither carried there by the Americans nor Europeans, previously diseased.

Forneau, a French Jesuit, learned, accurate, and experienced in the affairs of China, having been asked by Mr. Astruc (*m*), if the physicians of China thought the venereal distemper originated in their country, or brought there from other places; answered, that the Chinese physicians whom he had consulted were of opinion, that that distemper was suffered there since the earliest antiquity; and that the Chinese books written in Chinese characters, which were esteemed by them to be ancient, said nothing of the origin of that disease, but make mention of it as a distemper very ancient even at that time, in which these books were written; that also it was neither known, nor probable, that the distemper was carried there from other countries.

Lastly, Dr. Astruc says, according to his opinion (*n*), after having examined and weighed the testimonies of authors, that the venereal

(*g*) *Cosmographie Universelle*, liv. i. cap. 11. (*h*) *Epist. ad Christ. Mentzium*.

(*i*) *Hist. Sui Temporis*, cap. 71.

(*k*) *In Methodo medendi quo in Indiis Orientalibus oportet uti in cura morborum illic vulgo ac populariter grassantium*.

(*l*) *Dec. III. lib. iv. cap. 1.*

(*m*) *Dissert. de Origine Morborum Venereorum Inter Sinias. Ad Calc. tom. i.*

(*n*) *De Morbis Venereis*, lib. i. cap. 11.

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disease was not peculiar solely to the island Haiti, or Hispaniola, but also common to many regions of the old continent, and, perhaps, to all the equinoctial countries of the world in which it prevailed from antiquity. This ingenuous confession, from a person so well informed on this subject, and besides so prejudiced against America, as well as the testimonies above mentioned, are sufficient to demonstrate, that although we suppose the French evil to have been anciently existing in the new world, nothing can be adduced on this subject by the Europeans against America, that cannot be said by America against many countries of the old world; and that if the blood of the Americans was corrupted, as M. de Paw would argue, that of the Asiatics and Africans was not more wholesome.

Dr. Astruc adds, that from those countries of Asia and Africa, in which the French evil was endemic, it might be communicated by commerce to the neighbouring people, though not to the Europeans; because, the torrid zone having been deemed uninhabitable, there was no commerce between those countries and Europe. But who is ignorant of the commerce which Egypt had for many centuries with the equinoctial countries of Asia, and on another side with Italy? Why, therefore, might not the Asiatic merchants have brought along with their drugs the French disease into Egypt, and from thence the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, carry it into Italy, as they had for a long time a continual commerce with the city of Alexandria, in the same manner as other Europeans carried into Italy from Syria and Arabia, the leprosy and small-pox? Besides, among the many Europeans, who, from the twelfth century forward, undertook to travel into the southern countries of Asia, namely B. di Tudela, Carpini, Marco Polo, and Mandeville; amongst whom some, as M. de Paw says, advanced as far as China, might not one bring with him on his return to Europe, the infection from those Asiatic countries? Here we do not treat of what actually did happen, but only of that which might have happened.

The French evil might not only pass from Asia, but also from Africa into Europe, before the discovery of America; as the Portuguese, thirty years before the glorious expedition of Columbus, had discovered a great part of the equinoctial countries of Africa, and carried on commerce there. Might not some Portuguese, therefore, infected thence with

the French evil, communicate it to his country people and in course to other nations of Europe, as possibly did happen from what we shall say presently? Dr. Astruc may thus observe, by how many channels the French evil might be communicated to Europe without the intervention of America, although the ancients conceived the torrid zone inaccessible.

S E C T. III.

The French Evil might arise in Europe without Contagion.

BEFORE we handle this argument, it is necessary to say a little on the nature and physical cause of this distemper. The French distemper is, according to physicians, a species of *cachexia*, in which the lymph, and particularly the wheyish part of it, assumes a singular thickness and acrimony. The venereal poison, says Astruc (*o*), is of a salt, or rather acid salt, corrosive, and fixed nature. It occasions the condensation and acrimony of the lymph, and from thence proceed the inflammations, warts, ulcers, erosions, pains, and all the other horrid symptoms known to physicians.

This poison, when communicated to a sound man, ought not to be considered, says this author, as a new humour added to the natural humours, but rather as a mere *dyscrasia*, or vicious quality of the natural humours, which degenerating from their natural state, are changed into acid salts.

Almost all physicians have been persuaded, that this evil cannot arise otherwise than by means of contagion communicated by the seminal liquor, or by milk, or saliva, or sweat, or by contact with venereal ulcers, &c. But we presume to maintain, that the French evil can positively be produced in man, without any contagion or communication with those infected; because it can absolutely be generated in the same manner as it was generated in the first person who suffered it; such person could not get it by contagion, because he would not in that case been the first who suffered it, but from another cause very different; therefore, by a similar cause, whatever it was, some

(m) De Morbis Venereis, lib. ii. cap. 2.

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cachexia might have been produced without contagion, in other individuals of the human species. This is true, says Astruc in America, or another such country, but not in Europe. But wherefore exempt Europe? Because, says this author, the causes which could at first have occasioned this evil in America, do not take place there; and what are those causes? Let us examine them.

In the first place Dr. Astruc says (*p*) that the air ought not to be numbered among the causes, as, although it might occasion other disorders in the island of Hispaniola, it could not cause the venereal disease, because the Europeans who for two hundred years and upwards inhabited that island have not contracted that distemper but by means of contagion; and the air is not at present different to what it was three hundred years ago: and if it should be different at present, at least it was not so in the beginning of the fifteenth century. We ought, therefore, to make no conclusions from the air in treating of the origin of this evil. Although Dr. Astruc excludes the air from the number of the causes of the French evil, he has recourse to it in open contradiction to himself, in another place.

Two causes alone are assigned by Dr. Astruc; these are food and heat. As to food, he says, that the inhabitants of Hispaniola, when their maize, casava, &c. was scarce, fed on frogs, worms, bats, and such like small animals. With respect to heat he affirms, that the women of hot countries are much afflicted with acrid, and, as it were, virulent courses, particularly if they eat unwholesome food. On that supposition the author speaks thus: “ Multis ergo et gravissimis morbis
“ indigenæ insule Haitii affici olim debuerunt, ubi nemo a menstruatibus
“ mulieribus se continebat: ubi viri libidine impotentes in venerem
“ obviam belluarum ritu agebantur: ubi mulieres, quæ impudentissimæ
“ erant, viros promiscue admittebant, ut testatur Consalvus de Oviedo
“ Hist. Indiar. lib. v. cap. 3. immo eosdem et plures impudentius
“ provocabant menstruationis tempore, cum tunc incalescente utero

(*p*) Videtur quidem e numero causarum expungendus aer, qui in Hispaniola morbos alios forsitan inferre potuit, at vero luem veneream minime. Utique constat. Europeos, qui eam insulam jam a 200 annis (*immo pene* 300) incolunt luem veneream ibidem nunquam contraxisse nisi contagione. Europæi tamen aerem ibidem ducunt et eundem, quem olim ducebant indigenæ, et dubio procul eodem modo temperatum et constitutum. Astruc de Morbis Venereis, lib. i. c. 12.

“ libidine magis insanirent pecudum more. Quid igitur mirum varia,
 “ heterogenea, acria multorum virorum semina una confusa, cum acer-
 “ rimo et virulento menstruo sanguine mixta intra uterum æstuantem
 “ et olidum spurcissimarum mulierum coercita, mora, heterogeneitate,
 “ calore loci brevi computruisse, ac prima morbi venerei seminia con-
 “ stituisse, quæ in alios, si qui fortè continentiores erant, diman-
 “ vere?”

This is the whole discourse of Dr. Astruc on the origin of the venereal distemper, and is full from beginning to end of falsity, as we shall presently demonstrate: but, allowing that it was true, what he says happened in Hispaniola, the same thing might have happened in Europe; because as those Americans when they were in want of maize and other food fed on frogs, worms, &c. in like manner the Europeans, when they were in want of wheat and other good aliment, have been obliged to eat rats, lizards, and such little animals, the excrements of other animals, and even bread made of human bones, which brought them various disorders. It is sufficient to call to mind the horrid famine formerly suffered in Europe, partly by severe weather, partly by war. There have been men too there who have, like beasts, allowed themselves to be led away by intemperate lust to the most execrable excesses. There have always been abandoned and filthy women too, and what Plautus said might be affirmed with respect to them, *Plus scortorum ibi est, quam muscarumtum, cum caletur marumè*. Extreme acrid seminal fluids, *uteri estuantes*, and virulent courses, have never been wanting either. Such causes therefore could have produced the French evil in Europe, as they produced it, according to Astruc, in America.

“ No,” answers this author; “ they could not; because the air being
 “ more temperate in Europe, (he has recourse to the air, after he had ex-
 “ cluded it from the number of causes of the French evil) *non adest eadem*
 “ *in virorum semine acrimonia, eadem in menstruo sanguine virulentia,*
 “ *idem in utero mulierum fervor, quales in insula Haiti fuisse probatum est:*
 “ (the proofs of Dr. Astruc are no others than those above set forth,
 “ whence he adds.) that those symptoms cannot be produced there from
 “ a similar concurrence of causes. Of diseases, and their causes also, we
 “ ought to judge, as of the generation of animals and plants. As lions

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“ are not bred in Europe, nor apes propagate, nor parrots build their
 “ nests, nor many Indian or American plants grow in Europe, although
 “ they are sown there; in like manner, the French evil could never be
 “ produced in Europe by these causes, from whence, as we have already
 “ said, it was produced in Hispaniola; because every clime has its par-
 “ ticular properties, and those things which arise in one clime spontane-
 “ ously can by no art be produced in another; for, as the poet says,
 “ *non omnis fert omnia tellus.*”

We shall grant many things to Dr. Astruc, which would not be granted to him by any other person. We grant that there has never been in Europe that abuse of *feminiarum menstruarum*, nor that acrimony nor virulence in the fluids of the human body, nor that heat in the *uterus* which he supposes in the island of Hispaniola; although the contrary appears from the books of medicine published in these last two hundred years. We grant to him that they have no examples there of luxurious excesses; because to him it appears too much to confess them to have been in Europe (*q*); and we grant to him also, that all the women of Europe have been most healthy and chaste. All that we grant to him, though it is contradicted by history, and the common opinion of Europeans themselves. Notwithstanding, we affirm, that the French evil could be generated in Europe without contagion; because all those disorders which Astruc supposes to belong to the island of Hispaniola, could also take place in Europe, although they never had been known there. Those chaste women, induced by violent passions, which are common to all the children of Adam, might become as incontinent and abandoned as that author supposes the Americans of Hispaniola were. Those sound and healthy men might find an aliment as pernicious as that which was the food of the natives of *Haiti*. The human sperm, which of itself is very acrid, as Astruc says, might, by reason of unwholesome food, become more and more so, until it had that degree of acrimony, which produces the venereal ailment. The *menses* might become virulent, either from suppression, or plethora, or many other causes in the fluids or the vessels. It ap-

(*q*) Sed esto: demum in Europa veneream aequè impuram, atque in Hispaniola exerceri; neque enim contra pugnare placet, quanquam ea tamen nimia videantur. *Astruc de Morbis Venereis*, lib. i. cap. 12.

pears from the letters of Christopher Columbus, quoted by his learned son D. Ferdinand, that he landed the first time in Hispaniola, on the 24th of December, 1492, because a vessel of his miserable fleet had struck upon a sand bank; that all the time he remained there from the 24th of December to the 4th of January, they were employed in getting the wood and timbers of the vessel up from the sand, to erect a little fortress, in which he left forty men, and embarked that same day with the rest of his people for Spain, to bear the news of the discovery of that new world. All the circumstances of their arrival in that island do not allow us to suspect, that the Spaniards had opportunity to have such commerce with any of the American women as to depart infected by them. Their mutual admiration of each other, the sight of so many new objects, and the very short stay of only eleven days, which were employed in the great fatigue of getting up the wreck, and erecting that fort in so much haste, after the inconveniencies of the longest and the most dangerous voyage which had ever been performed, make a conjecture of this kind entirely improbable. It is not less improbable, from the silence of Columbus himself, his son D. Ferdinand, and of Peter Martyr d'Angheira, who in describing the sufferings of that voyage, say nothing of such a distemper.

But although we should grant, that those Spaniards who returned from the first voyage were infected by the French evil, we should still say, that the contagion of Europe did not proceed from them, according to the testimony of some respectable authors then living. Gaspare Torrella, a learned physician above mentioned, says, in his work entitled *Aphrodysiacum* (*r*), that the French evil began in Alverne, a province of France, very distant from Spain, in 1493. B. Fulgosio or Fregoso, doge of Genoa, in 1478,* in his curious work entitled *Dicta Factaque Memorabilia*, and printed in 1509, affirms (*s*), that the French evil began to be known two years before Charles VIII. came into Italy.

(*r*) Incepit hæc maligna ægritudo in Alvernia anno M.CCCCXCIII. et sic per contagionem pervenit, &c.

(*s*) Biennio antequam in Italiam Carolus (VIII.) veniret, nova ægritudo inter mortales detecta fuit, cui nec nomen, nec remedia medici ex veterum auctorum disciplina inveniebant, varie, ut regiones erant, appellata. In Gallia Neapolitanum dixerunt morbum, at in Italia Gallicum appellabant. Lib. i. cap. 4. sect. ultimo.

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He came into Italy in September 1494, therefore that evil was known ever since 1492, or at the latest in 1493; that is, some years before Columbus returned from his first voyage. Juan Leone, once a Mahometan, a native of Granada, in Spain, vulgarly called *Leone Africano*, in his description of Africa, written in Rome, under the pontificate of Leo X. after he was converted, says, that the Hebrews, when driven from Spain, in the times of Ferdinand the Catholic, carried the French evil into Barbary, and infected the Africans; on which account, it was then called the *Spanish evil* (t). The edict of the Catholic kings respecting the expulsion of the Hebrews, was published in March 1492, as Mariana says, allowing them no more than four months to sell all their effects, if they did not choose to carry them along with them; and in the following month, another edict was published by T. Torquemada, inquisitor-general, in which it was prohibited to Christians, under the heaviest penalties, to treat with the Hebrews, or to furnish them with provisions after the term prescribed by the king; so that all but those who became, or feigned to be Christians, were compelled to quit Spain, before Columbus set out to discover America, as he did not weigh anchor before the 3d of August that year; the French evil, therefore, began in Europe before America was discovered. We find besides, among the poetry of Pacificus Maximus, a poet of Ascoli, published in Florence in 1479, some verses, in which he describes the *gonorrhœa virulenta* and venereal ulcers which he suffered, occasioned by his excesses (u).

Oviedo, not content with affirming, that the French evil came from Hispaniola, attempts to prove it. Behold his first proof. 1. *That horrid complaint of the biles is cured by the guaiacum better than any other medicine; and Divine mercy where it permits evil for our sins, provides there, in compassion to us, a remedy.* If this argument could

(t) Hujus mali ne nomen quidem ipsis Africanis notum erat antequam Hispaniarum Rex Ferdinandus Judæos omnes ex Hispania profligasset: qui ubi in patriam jam rediissent, ceperunt miseri quidam ac sceleratissimi Æthiopes cum illorum mulieribus habere commercium, ac sic tandem veluti per manus pestis hæc per totam se sparsit regionem, ita ut vix sit familia, quæ ab hoc malo remanserit libera. Id autem sibi firmissime atque indubitate persuaserunt ex Hispania ad illos transmigrasse. Quamobrem et illi morbo *Matum Hispanicum* (ne nomine destitueretur) indiderunt. Lib. 1.

(u) Hecatælegii, lib. iii. Ad Priapum et lib. viii. ad Mentulam. We do not copy the verses on account of their indeecency.

hold, we should conclude, that Europe, rather than Hispaniola, was the native country of the French evil: as many persons know that the most powerful remedy against that disorder is mercury, which is common in Europe, but has not been found in Hispaniola, nor known by the Indians: it is certain, that as soon as the French disease appeared in Europe, mercury was employed, and that Carpi, Torella, Vigo, Hooek, and many other famous physicians of that time, made use of it, although it was discredited afterwards by the indiscretion of some empirics, and grew for some time into disuse. *Guaiacum* was not first made use of until 1517, twenty-five years after the discovery of the French evil. Sarsaparilla began to be employed in 1535, and China root about the same time; and sassafras a little after.

The other proof by Oviedo, for he only offers two, is, that among the Spaniards who returned with Columbus from his second voyage in 1496, was D. P. Margarit, a Catalonian, "who," he says, "was so ailing, " and complained so much, that I do believe he felt those pains which " persons infected with such distempers feel, though I never saw a " pimple in his face. A few months after in the same year, this ailment " began to be felt amongst some prostitutes; for, at first, the distemper " was confined to low people. It happened afterwards, that the great " captain was sent with a large and fine army into Italy, . . . and among " those Spaniards who went in this force, were many infected with this " distemper; from whom, by means of women, &c." such are Oviedo's proofs, which have not merited even this mention.

M. de Paw thinks he has gained the argument, and demonstrated the truth of the common opinion, from the testimony of Roderigo Diaz de Isla, a physician of Seville, whom he calls a contemporary author, as he thinks his testimony decisive; but Diaz was neither a contemporary author, having written sixty years after the discovery of the French evil, nor does his account merit any faith. He says that the first Spaniards, when they returned with Columbus from Hispaniola, in 1493, carried the contagion to Barcelona, where the court was then held; that this city was the first infected; that it made such havoc there, that prayers, fasting, and almsgiving, were appointed, to appease the anger of God; that Charles of France, having gone the year after into Italy, certain Spaniards who were infected there,

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or many regiments, as M. de Paw says, sent by Spain to repel the invasion of king Charles, gave the French the infection. But we know from history, that no regiment, either sound or infected, nor any other Spaniard, were sent into Italy before Charles went out of Naples, with his army, then infected, to return into France. With respect to the contagion of Barcelona, we know that when Columbus arrived, Oviedo was then at that place. But if that which the Sevilian physician relates is true, Oviedo, who was searching every where for proofs to confirm his extravagant opinion, would most unquestionably have alledged the havoc occasioned there, those prayers, fastings, and charities, and not have made use of those miserable proofs of *guaiacum*, and the complainings of Margarit. But besides, the French evil is still more ancient than that epoch in Europe, as we have already explained.

It appears, that the physicians of Seville in those times were the worst informed with respect to the origin of the French evil; as Nicolas Monardes, a physician also of that city, and contemporary of Diaz, gives so fabulous an account of it, that we cannot read it without losing all patience. He says, "that in the year 1493, in the war of Naples, between the Catholic and the French kings, Columbus arrived after his first discovery of the island of Hispaniola, and brought with him from that island a multitude of Indians, men and women, whom he carried to Naples, where the Catholic king then was, after the war was over. And as there was peace between the two kings, and the armies communicated together, when Columbus came there with his Indian men and women, the Spaniards began to have commerce with the Indian women, and the Indians with the Spanish women, and in that manner the Indian men and women infected the Spanish army, the Italians, Germans, &c." Who could believe, that a literary Spaniard would disfigure the public facts of his own nation, which occurred not more than eighty years before, so much, that not one of his propositions is correct; but when he means to disparage America, he loses all regard to truth. It is certain and notorious, that there was no war between Spain and France in 1493; that the Catholic king was not then in Naples, but in Barcelona, nor recovered of his wounds which he had received from a mad person;

that Columbus did not bring with him a multitude of Indian men and women, but only ten men; that Columbus did never come into Italy after his glorious expedition; that the Indians he brought with him never saw Italy.

After having made the most diligent enquiry, we discover no grounds for believing the French evil came from America into Europe; we rather find ourselves induced to believe it, as well as the small pox, was brought from Europe to America. 1. Because, neither Columbus, in his journal, nor his son, in the life of his renowned father, who saw those countries, and noted their peculiarities, make mention of the French evil, although they relate minutely the hardships and sufferings of the first voyagers. Neither is there any mention made of it in the histories of those countries written by Peter Martyr of Anghera (*x*), an author contemporary with Columbus, and well-informed, having been prothonotary to the council of the Indies, and abbot of Jamaica. Oviedo, the first who attributed that distemper to America, did not go there till twenty years after the island Haiti had been inhabited by the Spaniards. What we say of the silence of these authors respecting the Antilles, we may also say of that of the first historians of the other countries of America. 2. If America had been the real native country of the French evil, and if the Americans had been the first who suffered it, it would have been more prevalent there than in any other country, and the Americans would have been more subject than any other nation to that evil; but this is not the case. Of the Indians of the Antilles, we can say nothing; for it is now two centuries since they have been totally extinct: but among the present inhabitants of those islands, that contagion is less frequent than among the people in Europe, and seldom appears but where there are a great concourse of soldiers and seamen. In the capital of Mexico, some Whites and Indians are infected with the venereal disorder, but very few in proportion to the number of the inhabitants. In other great cities of that vast kingdom, the contagion is extremely rare, and in some it is hardly known; but in those settle-

(*x*) Of all things which were brought from the West Indies belonging to the art of medicine. Part i. cap. 9.

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ments of Americans, where there is no resort of seamen or soldiers, the distemper is never seen or heard of. With respect to South America, we have been informed by persons of accuracy, sincerity, and great acquaintance with those countries, besides what we have known ourselves, that in the provinces of Chili, and those of Paraguay, that distemper is extremely uncommon among the whites, and never seen among the Americans. Some missionaries, who have resided some twenty, others thirty years among different nations of America, agree in affirming, that they have never seen a person infected with that disease, nor ever known that any was.

As to the provinces of Peru and Quito, Ulloa says (*y*), that although in those countries the venereal distemper is common among the whites, and other races of men, it is very rare to see an Indian infected. America, therefore, is not the parent of that disease, of that evil, as has been vulgarly said, nor ought such a distemper, as M. de Paw would insinuate, to be considered as a consequence of the corrupted blood and vitiated constitution of the Americans.

What then is the native country of the French evil; as it neither derives its origin from Europe nor America? We do not know. But in the midst of uncertainty, if we may be allowed to conjecture, we suspect that contagion to have come from Guinea, or some other equinoctial country of Africa. The very learned English physician Sydenham was of this opinion (*z*), and it is strengthened by what is affirmed by Battista Fulgoso, an eye-witness of the beginning of the French evil in Europe. He says, in the work which we have already cited (*a*), that the French evil was brought from Spain into Italy, and from Ethiopia

(*y*) It appears, that this author has confounded the French evil with the scurvy; for we know that Dr. Giulio Rondoli Pesarese, a famous physician of Sierra, affirmed to a person of credit, that amongst many who were thought infected with the French evil, and whom he cured, he had not found any who was really infected with that distemper; but that all were scorbutic, and that he had succeeded in curing them, by using the remedies for the scurvy.

(*z*) Sydenham affirms in one of his letters, that the French evil is as foreign to America as to Europe, and that it was brought there by the Moors from Guinea; but it is not true, that the Moors brought it to America, for the distemper was known before they were brought to Hispaniola.

(*a*) *Quæ pestis (ita enim visa est,) primo ex Hispania in Italiam allata ad Hispanos ex Æthiopia, brevi totam terrarum orbem comprehendit.* Fulgo. Dict. Pactorumque Memorab. lib. i. cap. 4.

into Spain. Astruc pretends that Fulgosio means America, under the name of Ethiopia. This is a curious method of solving a difficulty. DISSERT.
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But who ever called Ethiopia America? We know, on the contrary, that it was common among the authors of that century, to give the name of Ethiopia to any country inhabited by black men, and to call such men Ethiopians; so that the natural sense of the words of Fulgosio is, that the French evil was brought from the equinoctial countries of Africa into Lusitanian Spain, or Portugal; but this we dare not take upon us to maintain, unless we had made more enquiries, and obtained stronger proofs from authors of faith and authenticity.

THE END.

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